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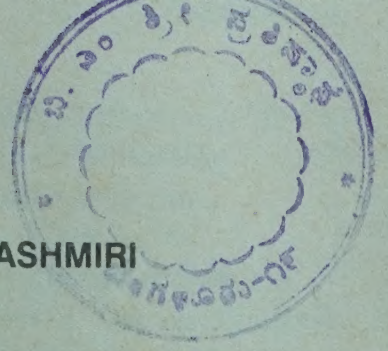
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ON THE COMPOUND VERB IN KASHMIRI

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Abstract

Characteristics of the Kashmiri compound verb are examined from both an areal and a typological point of view. Syntactic and semantic tests are used to identify its grammatical functions and to locate it within the spectrum of compound verb types found in modern Indo-Aryan languages.
END

Like almost all the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda languages spoken in South Asia, Kashmiri has a construction known as the compound verb (CV) in which the conjunctive form of the main predicate in a clause is accompanied by the finite form of an auxiliary (or "vector") verb that is homophonous with some non-auxiliary verb. For example, in (1) and (2) *vweth-yith* and *ber-yith* are the conjunctive participial forms of main verbs *vwath* 'rise' and *bar* 'throw: fill'; while *goose* and *dyutun* are finite forms of the vector verbs *gatsh* GO and *dyi* GIVE:

- (1) *saaDyi navyi bajyi goos bi yekdam thod vweth-yith* <1>
half nine o'clock WENT I suddenly up rise-CP <2>
'At half past nine I suddenly got up.' H.K.Koul 1984:39
- (2)*ti dyutu-n* <3> *Taas ker-yith ...pathar ber-yith*
and GAVE-3sA bang mak-ing down throw-CP
'...and throw (him) down with a bang.' Pompur 1986a:119

Vectors are highly grammaticized, so much so that their deletion has very little effect on meaning, at least from the point of view of translation into languages such as English or Sanskrit (which lack them altogether):

- (1) *saaDyi navyi bajyi vwothus bi yekdam thod*
half nine o'clock rose I suddenly up
'At half past nine I suddenly got up.'

- (2) ...ti boru-n pathar Taas ker-yith
and threw -3sA down bang mak-ing
'...and threw (him) down with a bang.'

As criteria for identifying vectors (and hence compound verbs) in Kashmiri we use: 1. homophony with lexical verbs, 2. -yith (or -y <4>) as complementizing affix on the main verb, and, 3. alternation with their absence: vectors can be deleted with no (or very little) effect on meaning. On the basis of these three defining criteria, we give here a list of the nine most commonly used vectors together with a rough idea of the nuances that can be ascribed to them.

(3) gatsh	GO	direction away:simple completion
dyi	GIVE	action for or toward others
nyi	TAKE AWAY	action for or toward self
pye	FALL	change of state; suddenness
tshun	THROW	speed, recklessness;relief
traav	RELEASE	psychological separation; relief
thav	PUT, KEEP	proactiveness, future use in view
yi	COME	change of state from within
tsal	FLEE	unexpectedness; lack of control

Of these nine the most commonly used vectors are *gatsh*, *nyi*, *pye*, *dyi* and *tshun*. Vector *tsal* is of fairly frequent occurrence in texts, but seems to come only with main verb *nyeer* (see ex. (10)).

Examples:

- (4) ajaNT venyith... nyuu-n-as mootal ker-yith
agent calling TOOK-3sg-1sg suspend do-CP
'He called me an agent...and suspended me.'

H.K.Koul 1984:38

- (5) kyUUts kaal chu yi vaayras tyi yoor veetyith *pyomut*
some time is this virus also here arrive-CP FALL-PP
'...this virus too has struck here some time ago.'

Akhtar Mohiuddin 1984:10

- (6) yiman aayi nookiryi manzi keD-yith *tshun-in-ic* damkyii dyini
him-DAT came job-ABL from pull-CP THROW-INF-GEN threat give
'He was threatened with being sacked.'

Hajini 1988:63

- (7) temy troov yi ven-yith kamar bwah kun
he-ERG RELEASED this say-CP waist down toward
'He said this while bowing from the waist.'

Azad 1985:87

- (8) *kamri theevy-tav vuch-yith*; *kath-baath kery-tav khaan seebas siity*
 room PUT-IMPER look-CP word-talk do-IMPER Khan Sahib
 siity with

‘(First) have a look at the room, then talk to Khan Sahib.’

Pompur 1986a:104

- (9) *yi kath booz-ini pati aav maaharinyi buth vwaSil-yith...*
 this thing hear-INF after CAME bride-DAT face blush-CP
 ‘On hearing this remark the bride blushed.’

- (10) *yuthuy tas mye-pyeTh nazar pyeyi tas tsej krakh nyiir-yith*
 no-sooner her me-on glance fell her FLED scream go-out-CP
 ‘As soon as she saw me she let out a scream.’

Akhtar Mohiuddin 1976:70

In addition to these there are idiomatic compound verbs in which the vector appears in the conjunctive form while the main verb bears the desinence. For instance, *vesyith pye* is in alteration not with *vas* ‘descend’ but with *pye* ‘fall’:

- (11a) *su pyov paninyi guryi pyeThi ves-yith*
 he fell self's horse from DESCEND-CP
 ‘He fell from his horse.’

- (11b) *su pyov paninyi guryi pyeThi*
 ‘He fell from his horse.’

- (11c) *su voth paninyi guryi pyeThi*
 ‘He got down from his horse.’

Again as in other South Asian languages, Kashmiri has a serial verb construction (more accurately termed a serial verb-phrase construction. See Schiller 1990). In the serial verb construction all but the last in a series of actions are represented as adverbial adjuncts of the clause that expresses the final action. In Kashmiri the marker of such serial adjuncts is the conjunctive participle marker-(*yi*)*th* suffixed to the verb stem:

- (12) *zi ryisti khye-th gav aslam gari*
 two meatballs eat-CP went Aslam home
 ‘Aslam had two meatballs and went home.’

In most Indo-Aryan languages the compound verb is not always distinguishable in form from the serial verb. For example, in Hindi-Urdu the sequence *khaa jaa* (‘eat go’) can either be a compound or a serial verb:

(13) mohan do boTii kabaab *khaa gayaa*

Mohan two boti kabob eat went

A: 'Mohan ate two boti kabobs and left.' (serial verb)

B: 'Mohan (went and) ate two kabobs.' (compound verb)

In Hindi-Urdu it is possible to discriminate these two constructions formally by substituting other forms of the conjunctive participle:

(14) a. mohan do boTii kabaab *khaa-kar* gayaa

b. mohan do boTii kabaab *khaa-ke* gayaa

c. mohan do boTii kabaab *khaa-kar-ke* gayaa

A. 'Mohan ate two boti kabobs and left.'

B. *'Mohan (went and) ate two boti kabobs.'

Since the contemporary Kashmiri conjunctive participle has only one form (-yith) in common use <5>, this procedure cannot be applied to Kashmiri. However, a peculiarity of Kashmiri word order can be used to distinguish compound from serial verbs.

In Kashmiri the finite part of the verb in both main and complement clauses immediately follows the first constituent in the clause (compare the position of *aav* in (9) with the position of *traavyi* in (7) unless the sentence contains a WH- word:

(15) temyis kyaa *gav* ni meS-yith! (The finite verb *gav* is third.)

him-DAT what WENT not forget-CP

'What hasn't he forgotten!'

As is apparent from example(9), a nominalized clause counts as a single constituent in its matrix clause. The effect of using a conjunctive participle is the same for this purpose as nominalizing: the conjunctive form of the verb together with its adjuncts counts as a single constituent in determining the placement of the finite part of the verb in the main clause. Consider (16):

(16) dastaar gaND ti gatsh

turban tie and go

'Tie your turban and go.'

If we use a conjunctive participle to reduce the conjoined clause structure of (16) to a single complex clause, the word *dastaar* can be bracketed with the form *geNDyith* as one constituent:

(17) [dastaar geNDyith] [gatsh]

turban tie-CP go

'Tie your turban and go.'

A compound verb, however, does not have the multiclausal source that a serial verb has. Syntactically all the parts of the compound verb share all the adjuncts in the clause. As a result the main verb cannot form a separate constituent with an adjunct and, hence, cannot appear together with it to the left of the vector verb:

- (18 a) [dastaar][dyi][geNDyith]
 turban GIVE tie-CP
 'Tie (my) turban (for me).

This means that the sequence:

- (19) dastaar geNDyith gatsh
 can only mean: 'Tie the turban and (then) go.'

While the order in (19) is specific to a serial verb, the order in (18a) is not specific to a compound verb. That is, a serial verb can have the order in (18a) if, for instance, the focus of the predication is on the final action and the non-finite action is seen as distinctly subsidiary or even adverbial:

- (18b) dastaar dyi geNDyith
 'Give (me) the turban, having tied it (beforehand).'

In fact, the order in (19) is not possible even for serial verbs, if the component predicates share a patient. In (20) the patient of both predicates is *yi* 'this':

- (20) *yi thevy-tav tulyith pagah cham byeyi kas-taam Sakhsas*
 this KEEP-IMPER lifting tomorrow is-me again some person
vaat-inaav-iny (Taing 1984:27)
 arrive-CAUS-INF
 'Please *take and keep* this: tomorrow I have to deliver it to somebody.'

The word order we see in (20) (compare 18b) is possible because it is the patient of the temporally prior predicate *tul* 'pick up, take' that has been deleted rather than the patient of the second or later predicate *thav* 'keep'. That is, the token of *yi* 'this' that survives is not the one that is in the VP of *tulyith* 'having picked up'. Similarly for (21):

- (21) *dapaan chus pal tshun-iha-s tul-yith*
 say-ing am rock throw-CTF-3sD lift-CP
 'I was thinking I would *pick up and throw* a rock at him.'

Pompur 1986a:127

There is some syntactic evidence that it is the "second" token of the patient, not the first one, that shows up to the left of the finite verb in (20)

and (21). In a coordinate conjunction where there is a shared patient appearing in one case in one clause and in a different case in the next, it is the case assigned by the second predicate that survives conjunction reduction:

(22a) . saaykal-as ker-i-m thaph ti gari nyuu-m (su)
cycle-DAT did-1sA grip and home took-1sA it
'I grabbed the bike and took it home.'

b). saaykal nyuu-m gari thaph ker-yith
cycle took-1sA home grip do-CP
'Grabbing (it), I took the cycle home.'

In fact, Kashmiri appears to provide no options on this score: If the patient is shared it is the first token of it that must go:

c). * saaykalas thaph ker-yith nyuu-m(su) gari
'Grabbing the cycle, I took (it) home.'

(22 c) is acceptable only under interpretations in which patients are not shared : 'Grabbing (his) cycle, I took him home.'

In recent research on the diffusion of the compound verb in Indo-Aryan (Hook: To appear, 1991, 1992) it has been shown that a correlation exists between the overall frequency of the compound verb in a language, its syntactic behavior and its functions. Highly developed compound verb systems are characterized by four properties: 1. They are frequent in texts. Twelve to sixteen percent of the verb forms are compound. 2. They are more restricted in the range of syntactic constructions that permit them to occur. In particular, they are less free to occur in non-finite forms. 3. Vector verbs are more highly grammaticalised. This means that there are fewer restrictions on which main verbs vectors can combine with. 4. CV's have the expression of perfective aspect as one of their functions. Less developed compound verb systems have the complementary set properties: 1. Low text frequency (under 10 percent). 2. Relatively greater freedom to occur as non-finite forms, with negatives, etc. 3. Less grammaticalised vectors. This means that semantic and structural compatibility between main and vector verb plays a greater role in determining what combinations are acceptable. 4. Absence of perfective aspect and as one of the compound verb's functions. In the remainder of the paper we will examine the Kashmiri compound verb in the context of these findings.

1. **Frequency.** The compound verb is not at all frequent in Kashmiri texts. In a count made of *Hatim's Tales*, it appeared 10 times in a pool of 882 verb forms (1.1%). In a count made of CVs in a literary essay (Raz 1978) three were found in a total of 600 verb forms (0.5%). These frequency

rates put Kashmiri well below Marathi (4%) and are in fact the lowest (or second lowest) rates of occurrence observed among the nine modern Indo-Aryan languages listed in the eighth schedule of the constitution. (We do not have information on Assamese). If the compound verb in Indo-Aryan has been increasing in frequency overall (a not implausible conjecture since the compound verb is an innovation in Indo-Aryan). Kashmiri's compound verb system assumes special importance as representing a very early stage of development.

2. Privileges of occurrence. Like the first property, an account of privileges of syntactic occurrence takes on significance only when seen in comparison with other Indo-Aryan languages. Hindi- Urdu, with a very frequent compound verb, has strict constraints on where it may occur: 1. not as a conjunctive participle, 2. not dependent on a modal, 3. rarely with negatives:

- (23h) ghoRe se gir (*paR)-kar us kaa pair TuuT gayaa
horse from fall FALL -CP he GEN foot break WENT
'Falling from his horse he broke his foot.'
- (24h) kyaa tum mere liye darvaazaa khol (*de) sak-oge?
QM you my sake door open GIVE can-FUT2p
'Can you open the door for me?'
- (25h) hinduu sab-kuch bhuul jaay, kaam par jaana nahII bhuulegaa
Hindu everything forget GO work to go-INF not forget-FUT
(*nahII bhuul jaaegaa)
not forget GO-FUT
'A Hindu may forget everything (else) but he won't forget to go ... to work.' (back translation from H.K. Koul 1984:39)

The compound verb in Kashmiri is free of these restrictions:

- (23k) guryi pyeThi ves-yith pye-th phuT temyis khwar
horse-AB from DESCEND-CP fall-CP broke him-DT foot
'Falling from his horse he broke his leg.'
- (24k) tsi hyek-ah-am-aa darivaazi khuul-yith dyi-th?
you can-FUT2sN-1sD-QM door open-CP GIVE-CP
'Can you open the door for me?'
- (25k) baT-as gatshyi sooruy-kyEh meS-yith nookiryi nyeerun
Hindu-DAT GO-FUT everything forget-CP job-DAT go-out-INF
gatshyas ni meS-yith
GO-FUT-3sD not forget-CP
'Hindu may forget everything but he won't forget to go to work.'

The seeming paradox of having a lower text frequency with a greater freedom of occurrence can be resolved if we think of the CV in Kashmiri, involving as it does a less grammaticized vector, as being somewhat more of an independent lexical item. As a lexical (rather than grammatical) variant of the corresponding non-compound, it is freer to occur wherever the latter occurs.

This contrast in the behavior (and hence nature) of the compound verb in Kashmiri and Hindi-Urdu can be seen in the domain of morphology, too. As first pointed out by V.K.Koul (1985), in Kashmiri compound verbs in causatives sometimes exhibit an order of morphemes not found in other Indo-Aryan languages: <6>

- (26) *dastaar dy-aav temyis athyi geND-yith!*
 turban GIVE-CAUS him-DT hand tie-CP
 'Have him tie the turban(for me)!'

In (26) causative morpheme is external to the compound verb *geNDyith dyi*; where as in the corresponding Hindi- Urdu it is internal to it:

- (27a) *saafaa surindar se bAndh-vaa de!*
 turban Surindar ABtie-CAUS GIVE
 'Have Surindar tie the turban (for someone)!'

An order of morphemes parallel to that in (26) is not possible in Hindi-Urdu:

- (27b) **saafaa surindar se bAAAndh dil-aa*
 turban Surindar AB tie GIVE-CAUS
 'Have Surindar tie the turban (for someone)!'

The fact that the compound form *geNDyith dyi* is under the scope of the causal suffix *-inaav* as a single syntactic and semantic constituent <7> is further evidence that Kashmiri CV's act more like individual lexical items, less like grammatical forms of the corresponding non-compounds.

3. Less Grammaticalised vectors. Since vector verbs in all Indo-Aryan compound verb systems have undergone a large amount of semantic bleaching (a concomitant of grammaticalization), it is difficult to directly perceive the differences from one language to another in the degree to which this has taken place. Nevertheless, a number of contrasts can be detected in both the semantic and combinatorial properties of cognate vectors in Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri. For instance, combinations of vector and main verb in Kashmiri are more likely to be limited to those which have parallel predicate argument structures. Thus vectors homophonous with transitive verbs combine in Kashmiri only with transitive main verbs; those homophonous with intransitives, only with intransitive main verbs. Cross-combinations are much more common in Hindi - Urdu: *ro de* 'burst

into tears' (lit:'weep GIVE'), *ho le* 'join, come together with' (lit: 'be TAKE'), *kah uTh* 'blurt out' (lit: 'say RISE'), *pahacaan jaa'* 'recognize', etc.

(28h) mAA ko jaatee dekh-kar baccaa ro *diyaa*
 mother DT go-ing see-CP child cry GAVE
 'Seeing his mother leave, the child burst into tears.'

(29h) mAI us ko dekh-te hii *pahacaan gayaa* ki vo badmaS hai
 I him DAT see-ing EMP recognize WENT that he scoundrel is
 'As soon as I saw him I could tell he was a scoundrel.'

Such combinations are not found in Kashmiri:

(28k) a. *maaji gatsh-aan vuch-yith *dyut* Sury *ved-yith*
 mother go-ing see-CP GAVE child cry-CP
 'Seeing his mother leave, the child burst into tears.'

b. (maaji gatshaan vuchyith *vod* Sury)
 cried child-ERG

(29k) a. *vuch-yith-iy goos bi *prazineevyith* zyi su chu badmaaS
 see-ing EMP WENT I recognize-yith that he scoundrel is
 'As soon as I saw him I could tell he was a scoundrel.'

b. (vuchyithiy *prazinoovu-m* zyi su chu badmaaS)
 recognized-1sA

Subtler differences are also perceptible. For example while neither language permits vector GIVE to combine with transitive verbs expressing reflexive (agent-affecting) acts like 'drink', 'think', 'seize', 'listen', etc: Hindi-Urdu allows *de* to occur with main verbs where no particular orientation or beneficiary of the action is on the conceptual scene:

(30h) use...nikaTatam dhvani mE parivartit kar denaa caahie
 it nearest sound in transform do GIVE ought
 'We should render it with the most similar sound...'
 (Tiwari 1984:10.19)

Kashmiri does not:

(30k) su gatshyi saar-yiv-iy khwati keryiib aavaazyi manz
 it ought all-DT-EMP from-AB near sound-DT in
 tabdyiil kar-un / *ker-yith dy-un
 change do-INF do-CP GIVE-INF
 'We should render it with the most similar sound...'

Rather, in order to license the use of *dyi* as vector, some beneficiary of the act expressed by a Kashmiri compound verb must be at least inferable. In this restriction we may detect the shorter distance travelled in the evolution of vector *dyi* from main verb *dyi* in Kashmiri than in the evolution of vector *de* from the corresponding main verb in Hindi-Urdu.

Since cognate vectors are closer to their lexical "ancestors" in Kashmiri than they are in Hindi-Urdu, they contribute a larger part of the total lexical meaning of the compound verb. This means that they are less available for performing purely grammatical functions. One consequence of this (and we shall examine others in the next section) is that, unlike in Hindi-Urdu, vectors in Kashmiri cannot combine with their homophonous counterparts among main verbs:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 31(h). mujh ko kitaab de do | us se le lo |
| me DT book give GIVE | him from take TAKE |
| Give me the book! | 'Take (it) from him!' |
| 31(k). mye dyi kytaab dyi-th | 'temyis nyiSi nyi nyi-th |
| me-DT GIVE book give-CP | him-DT from TAKE take-CP |
| 'Give me the book!' | 'Take (it) from him!' |
| (mye dyi kytaab) | (temyis nyiSi nyi) |

4. Absence of perfective aspect. One of the chief grammatical functions of the compound verb in highly developed systems like those of Hindi-Urdu, Panjabi, Marwari, etc. is the expression of perfective aspect in the sense that this term is given by aspectologists working on Slavic languages. There are a number of syntactic semantic tests that can be used to identify perfectivity as a parameter in a system of verb morphology. Here we will examine three of them and show that they identify the compound verb in Hindi-Urdu as expressing perfective aspect and the compound verb in Kashmiri as not expressing it.

4a. The 'fear' test. In languages having an opposition between perfective and non-perfective forms there is a preference bordering on categorical for perfective rather than non-perfective forms in clauses which are compliments of predicates expressing fear and anxiety. Thus in Russian:

- (32) mat 'bojalas' kak-by eë syn ne zabolet
 mother feared lest her son NEG took-sick-PFV
 'The mother was afraid that her son might get sick.'

and in modern Greek:

- (33) i mitera fovotane min pethani o yos tis
 the mother feared NEG die-PFV the son her
 'The mother was afraid that her son might die.'

The strong preference for perfective forms in *fear* clauses in Russian and modern Greek can be understood as the reflection of a language-independent fact about the semantics of perfective aspect: The very act of fearing the occurrence of an event presupposes the completeness of

its conceptualization. Such an event, clearly delineated before the mind's eye, assumes a degree of mental reality that compels the speaker to use a perfective form for its expression if one is available.

4b. *The "until" test.* There is a similar if not quite so strong a preference for perfective forms in clauses which are complements of expressions meaning 'until'. For example, in Russian (from Forsyth 1970:133):

- (34). ona budet ubajukivat' rebënka poka on ne zasnet
 she will rock child until he NEG sleep-PFV
 'She will rock the baby until it goes to sleep.'

4c. *The phasal test.* There are also environments which strongly disfavor the perfective. For instance, the compliments of phasal verbs in Russian and other Slavic languages bar the occurrence of perfective aspectual forms:

- (35) on načinaet čitat' predloženie (*načinaet pročitat')
 he begins read-IMPFV sentence begins read-PFV
 'He begins to read the sentence.'

These asymmetries in the distribution of perfective and non-perfective forms in Slavic are paralleled by the distribution of compound and non-compound verbs in Hindi-Urdu:

- (36h) mujhe Dar thaa ki kahII tum peR na kaaT do
 me-to fear was that lest you tree NEG give GIVE
 'I was afraid that you might cut down the tree.'
- (37h) tum yahAA tab tak ruko jab-tak vo khaRaa na ho jaae
 you here then till stop until he standing NEG be GO
 'Wait here until he gets up.'
- (38h) vo apnii ek ek burii aadat deR (*de/*Daal) -ne lagaa
 he his one one bad habit leave GIVE/THROW -INF began
 'He began to give up his bad habits one by one.'

Applying these same tests to Kashmiri, we find that the opposition of compound/ non-compound verb in it is not identifiable as involving a perfective/non-perfective contrast:

- (36k) mye ees phyikyir tsi maa tsaT-akh kul
 me-DT was worry you lest cut-FUT2s tree
 'I was afraid that you might cut down the tree.'

- (37k) tot taam preer-yiv yot taam swa thod vwath-yi
 then till wait-IMPER when till he up rise-FUT3s
 'Wait here until he gets up.'

For (36k) and (37k) we have chosen predicates which we have found in compound form in Kashmiri texts. There is nothing to prevent a speaker from using compound forms of *tsaT* 'cut' and *vwath* 'rise:get up' here, too <8>. However our survey of speakers <9> reveals that they are no more likely to use them in *fear*- and *until*- clauses than in other kinds of clauses.

In Kashmiri the compound verb can appear as the complement of phasal verbs:

- (38k) su log akh akh buri aadat treev-yith tshun-un <10>
 he began one one bad habit leave-CP THROW-INF
 'He began to give up his bad habits one by one.'

Of the three tests we have used here, this one is the strongest for showing that a compound verb system has not incorporated perfective aspect as one of its significata.

Conclusions

The Kashmiri compound verb is extremely infrequent in texts. From this fact a number of other facts follow: more interaction/interference between the lexical meaning of the vector and the main verb: greater freedom in privileges of syntactic occurrence: tighter constraints on combinability of vectors with main verbs. These same characteristics have been identified in the Marathi compound verb, another very low frequency system (Hook 1991). The present study seems, then, to lend further support to the theory of aspectogenesis elaborated in Hook (1992).

Kashmiri is of special importance to studies of aspectogenesis because it appears to represent a very early stage of development. However it is also possible that its compound verb system is as old as any other in Indo-Aryan but, under the influence of languages to the north and west (viz., Tibeto-Burman, Ladakhi, Purki, Balti, and Indo-Aryan Shina), has atrophied. An answer to this question awaits a detailed study of earlier works of Kashmiri literature.

Endnotes

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1. The transcription used for Kashmiri in this paper is the one worked out by Kenneth Hill and Sajad Mir in the course in Linguistic field methods taught by Professor Hill at the University of Michigan in Fall, 1984. In this system reduplicating a symbol denotes (contrastive)length. The letter *e* represents a mid (either front or central) vowel while *i* represents a high (either front or central) vowel, Palatalization is uniformly indicated with the letter *y*, (except that *j*, *ch*, *c* and capital *S* are inherently palatalized.) *ts* is a dental affricate. *T*, *Th* and *d* are retroflex stops. Capitalization of symbols of vowels indicates nasality.

2. Abbreviations include the following:

A	accusative or agential (= anti-absolutive) pronomial suffix		
ABL	ablative	M	masculine
CP	conjunctive participle	N	nominative suffix
CTF	counterfactual mood	NOM	nominative
D	dative pronominal suffix	OBL	oblique
DAT	dative	p(1)	plural
EMP	emphatic particle	PP	past participle
ERG	ergative	PST	past tense
F	feminine	s(g)	singular
FUT	future	1	first person
GEN	genitive	2	second person
INF	infinitive	3	third person

3. Although not crucial to an understanding of the syntactic and semantic properties of the Kashmiri compound verb, readers may want to refer to Hook and Koul 1984b for a description of Kashmiri's systems of pronomial suffixes.

4. -y, the short form of the conjunctive participle, is occasionally used with a reduplicated form of the main verb to make compound verbs that express the gradual yet exhaustive execution of an activity:

- (a) sooru-y jangal nyuu-kh zeel-y zeel-y
 whole-EMP forest TOOK-3pA burn-CP burn-CP
 'They (gradually) burnt up the whole forest.'

Another example (from a text: Pompur 1986a:88) expresses constant repetition rather than gradualness of the action:

- (b) tsi chakh mye dwahay leTy geND-y geND-y thav-aan!
 you are me every-day accusations tie-CP tie-CP KEEP-ing
 'You are always accusing me of one thing or the other!'

5. An example of vector traav from Grierson 1911, vol. 2:

- a) temy *traavyi* tath chali chali ker-yith
 he-ER RELEASED-Fpl that-DT pieces pieces do-CP
 'He has broken that into pieces.' (G 234)

6. An example of vector *yi* with *pyis* 'boil over' is in Gr Gr 174.

7. There is an extended form of the conjunctive participle, which includes a pleonastic occurrence of *keryith* (for further discussion see V.K. Koul 1985):

- a) gari *getsh-yith ker-yith* kor mye temyis phoon
 home go-CP do-CP did I-ERG him-DAT phone
 'After going home I phoned him'

8. There are four exceptions we know of: Shina of Gurez, Poguli, Marwari and southern Gujarathi. Shina of Gurez in this and other ways is under the influence of Kashmiri. Poguli is considered to be a dialect of Kashmiri (Grierson 1968,8.2:402). In Marwari causal forms of vectors are used in an honorific rather than a causative sense. See Magier 1982. The southern Gujarathi data comes from a speaker from Navsari (a town south of Surat). The presence of initial [ʃ] in her speech is in imitation of the Ahmedabadi standard:

- (a) ek saara suthaar paase aa khurSio ...*samaar-i nAkh-aav-o!*
 a good carpenter near these chairs fix-CP THROW-CAUS-IMPER
 'Have a good carpenter fix these chairs!'

9. The consequences of these scope phenomena for the grammatical analysis of morphological causals in Kashmiri is explored in Hook and Koul, Ms. For an overview of causals in Kashmiri, see Hook and Koul 1984a and Syeed 1985.

10. An example of such a use of the compound verb in a clause expressing fear (in the context the speaker has just discovered he has very little money in his pocket):

- a) kAAh potsh gotsh ni *veet-yith pyo-n*
 any guest should not arrive-CP FALL-INF
 'May no guest arrive!' Pompur 1986a: 139.

11. The survey was administered to about a dozen speakers of Kashmiri who were asked to translate *fear*-clauses and *until*-clauses from English into Kashmiri. Similar surveys were made of speakers of CV-rich languages like Hindi and Marwari. While Hindi and Marwari speakers invariably used compound verbs in translating them speakers of Kashmiri did not.

12. In 38k the inceptive modal is homophonous with the two-place predicate *laag* 'insert, apply'. A second construction exists in which the corresponding one-place predicate *lag* 'go in, fit in; be applied' governs the ablative form of the dependent infinitive:

- a) su log akh akh buri aadath *treev-yith tshun-in-yi*
 he-NOM began one one bad habit leave-CP THROW-INF-ABL

There is a third construction in which the modal *hye* (homophonous with a lexical verb meaning 'take; buy') functions as a phasal meaning 'begin'.

- b) temy hyot akh akh buri aadat *treev-yith tshun-un*
 he-ERG took one one bad habit leave-CP THROW-INF

Compound verbs are free to appear in all three of Kashmiri's inceptive constructions.

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DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE USE, ATTITUDE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: THE TAMILS IN LONDON

JENNIFER BAYER

Introduction

The basic aim of the study is to examine processes of language maintenance, shift or attrition, attitudes to language and social identity among the Tamils, a Linguistic Minority in London. The target group for the study are the Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils. The Sri Lankan Tamil informants for the study are basically from Wimbledon and a few from Harrow. The Indian Tamils, according to informal information are spread across England. There are no major concentrations of Indian Tamils, with the exception of Eastham in London. Birmingham, has several families, but the population is not large. The informants for the study are Tamils of Indian origin settled in Manor Park, Eastham.

The analysis, it is expected, will provide information about the community, which will enhance the awareness among educational planners, that aspirations of a linguistic minority, such as the Tamils, are not only to achieve equal opportunities, but also to retain Tamil their mother tongue and all that goes to make up their socio-cultural norms.

This study would not have been possible without the active support of the community. The support and assistance provided by Mrs. Punitha Perinparaja is gratefully acknowledged.

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Status of the minorities

There are significant numbers of South Asian minorities in Britain from India, Nepal, Bangla Desh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Singapore, and Sri Lanka. Their existence in present day Britain has broken the dominantly

monolingual monocultural frame that was once British society. These minorities, over the years have evolved for themselves self-contained units that make them feel 'at home' in a western setting. They maintain their distinct languages, religions and cultural traditions. (Fitzpatrick and Verma, 1986).

South Asians in Britain and their acts of identity.

Identity assertion among the minorities in different forms across the globe seems to be the order of the day. From a Sociolinguistic perspective identity is variously constructed by individuals and groups as part of a socio-cultural, political and linguistic process and within a particular world they find themselves interacting with - it is constantly evolving while keeping links with the Centre (cf. Le Page's riders). According to Le Page each individual 'locates himself in a multi- dimensional space'. 'Once a person has constructed a model of how this multidimensional space looks from his point of view, he then has to *choose* where to locate *himself* in it. Language is only one part of the picture, of course, but a particularly important part because it gives the speaker a very clearly structured set of symbols which he can use in locating himself in the world. (Hudson 1988). There are constraints upon an individual's acts of identity which according to Le page, can be categorised under four heads. 'We can only behave according to the behavioural patterns of groups we find it desirable to identify with to the extent that:

- i) We can identify the groups
- ii) We have both adequate access to the group and ability to analyse its behavioural patterns.
- iii) The motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the groups.
- iv) We have the ability to modify our behaviour' (Le page:1985)

Discussing Welsh-English relations, Klief (1979) says 'whereas the Third world is intent on de-tribalization as a pre-requisite for creation of national unity, the First World is going through a stage of re-tribalization in the interest of decentrality. But this paradox is more apparent than real: independence movements within the First World are but an extension of, and a sequel to, those of the Third World; for it is the underdeveloped regions of the overdeveloped world, what may be termed the 'Third World within the First World', that are currently asserting their autonomy'. Thus it is possible to posit that the urge for recognition and acceptance of equality in the midst of diversity is the plea of linguistic minorities in Britain. And this

is mainly through the recognition of language. In this context one could agree with Klief (ibid) that 'language, in a very real sense is the pedigree of a people; for a Welshman, it unlocks centuries of the Welsh experience, of a unique way of symbolizing the world and expressing human emotions and social relations. Language is both the social history of a people and its *Anschauung*; it structures both social perception of a people's past as well as interpretation of its future'. The languages of South Asia in Britain are caught in the predicament similar to Welsh in the 19th century, although the way they have traversed to reach the same point may be different.

A Survey of research on Linguistic Minorities

In the midst of external constraints, such as discrimination and prejudice, and internal cultural norms, which indirectly leads to perceive oneself differently, how does pressure to conform to norms of the dominant culture, and the will to follow one's own cultural values, lead the minority groups to be socialised as split social beings? Sutcliffe (1982) says 'individual Blacks have chosen one course or the other, but the community as a whole is probably choosing to do what Afro-American communities have almost always done to a lesser or greater extent: maintain a dual identity involving a set of white behaviours and an 'Afro' set. These sets include ways of worshipping, celebrating and having fun, music, food and dress, ways of moving, eye behaviour, ways of joking, laughing and conducting conversations, of censuring or manipulating others, and of special interest here - forms of dialect. Black communities in Britain are maintaining the whole range of language from the local English variety, through to strikingly unEnglish Black speech derived from Caribbean Creoles'. The Whites are not immune to the contact. In fact the young Whites are influenced by their peer Blacks in terms of language music and dance. 'On the subject of music and dancing Whites have been heavily influenced by Blacks, so the divergence here is not as great as it used to be'. Studies by various other scholars (references?) on ethnic minorities in Britain generally suggest the same conclusion as Sutcliffe. Studies have been done on several groups in Britain. In the Linguistic Minorities Project Report 1985, several non-English mother tongues with mother tongue teaching classes in many cosmopolitan cities in England have been identified.

Peng (1974) wrote that 'the important sociolinguistic concept which is concerned with the ways in which speakers may alter many aspects of language so as to increase or decrease the psychological distance between one another is 'communicative distance'. 'Communicative distance' is experienced as 'the distance of indifference', 'the distance of avoidance' and 'the distance of disparagement'. The concept of distance can also be perceived on situation-power-status dimensions. This envisages distance on a horizontal and vertical axis. For example, in situations of Management:

worker, teacher: student, superior:subordinate, formal: non-formal relationships distance in communication and use of language(s) is dependent on power- status constructs (Brown and Gilman, 1960). If one abstracts the Sociolinguistic scene of linguistic minorities in Britain and perceives the trend as being ethnocentric in nature, where 'the tendency to apply standards of one's own culture' (Downs, 1971) over others and the 'belief that one's culture is the paragon of value' (Levine and Campbell, 1972) then the obvious conclusion is that there is growing 'communicative distance' in everyday social behaviour. Linguistic minorities face problems of how to integrate or rather adjust in the socio-political and economic life of the countries where they live. It is often that they neglect their cultural identity at the expense of trying to share the economic and political gains of the host society. But once the group as a whole faces the throes of discrimination the group resorts to revival of group identity. Similarly, if the groups feel threatened (as against voluntary surrender) about the loss of cultural identity, it resorts to affirmation of identity. Hans-Joachim Hoffman-Nowotny (1986) claims that cultural heterogeneity 'can only be tolerated in closed societies, where the dominant class use cultural differences to keep ethnic minorities segregated and subservient'. He goes on to add that 'cultural heterogeneity necessarily implied structural segregation', where ethnic groups are tolerated to maintain their cultural identity but are never permitted political and economic equality. In the context of the growing heterogeneity in Europe, this view is not maintainable. Secondly, if one compares it the multiculturalism existing at the grassroot in India one could find that there is structural incorporation of groups rather than structural segregation. Different groups participate in political and economic ventures although inequality may still have persisted.

Discussing language and ethnicity in a network of ecological relations Haarman (1986) stresses environment as an important factor in studying language as a social phenomenon in human society.

1. 'geographical separation from other groups' and hence is an 'outside ecological factor'
2. 'people's aversion to contact with other ethnic groups' in other words, it is isolation and it is called an 'inside ecological factor'.

He goes on to add that 'As language is involved in inter-ethnic relations, it is only a language-oriented view of ecology which can provide the key to understanding ethnicity and its place in the network of ecological relations'. In the context of immigrant groups in Britain, it is possible to draw an analogy from Haarman and posit that any study on the language use and language attitude of a group need to take into consideration ecological factors such as 'geographical separation' and 'isolation'. Geographical separation will mean spatial distance from the homeland and 'isolation' will

mean 'aversion' by the dominant culture. Thus as immigrants, the most conspicuous cross-cultural difference is the 'similarities' and dissimilarities', the 'do's' and the 'don'ts' of the 'they' and the 'we'. This has to be seen in the context of recent changes in Government policies towards the minorities in Britain. In 'Education for all' it has been very clearly said that efforts be made to promote understanding the cultures that exist in Britain. For example (p 324) 'In our view "Education for all" should involve more than learning about the cultures and lifestyles of various ethnic groups, it should also seek to develop in *all* pupils, both ethnic majority and ethnic minority, a flexibility of mind and an ability to analyse critically and rationally the nature of British society today within a global context'. Thus social change as envisaged in the above quote can be determined by assessing experiences, perceptions and interpretations of people involved. Unfortunately, in spite of the superficial pleading, for both ethnic majority and ethnic minority, Swann says 'that English is a central unifying factor in 'being British'. While English does have a unificatory role, to give it centrality over multicultural interaction is a paradox perpetrated by the Swann Report.

The monolingual, Anglophone system of British Education that was so consciously creating an Anglo-centric system is now aware of the necessity to consider education in the context of multilingual Britain. In fact Bilingualism has been in existence in Britain for a long time. The Normans, in 1066 came and transformed the English language. They then, for nearly 300 years made French the Official language and English remained the ordinary language of the vast population. (Burchfield, 1985) English, although the language of power, is no longer the strongest language. Ethnic groups in Britain see their language and social identity to be stronger. English is merely an avenue to upward mobility educationally and economically. However, there is a clearcut dichotomy of attitudes to European and Non-European languages. The fact that the Department of Science document 'A Framework for the curriculum' 1980, synonymously equates 'modern languages' with 'European languages' voices attitudes such as, the non-European languages are not modern languages.

Non-English speaking mother tongue groups in Britain is now a recognised entity. The influx of immigrant children in schools has changed the view that language education meant English education. In order to participate in mainstream education children born overseas were helped to acquire English as quickly as possible. Those who were unable to follow the norm were regarded as 'problem children'. As a result of Beaumont's view (1976) about using the child's language as the medium of education and the Council of the European Communities directive of using the language and culture of the migrant child in the education system, the education scene in Britain has changed to accommodate a separate stream of

minority education without, in spirit, accepting a single mainstream education for the majority and the minorities.

The Linguistic Minorities Project Report (1985) has shown that in five Local Education Authorities, the proportions of bilingual pupils is as follows:

Bradford	17.8%
Coventry	14.4%
Haringey	30.7%
Peterborough	7.4%
Waltham Forest	18.8%

In the midst of controversial fight against racism and discrimination, of suffering pupils facing racist attitudes because of the way their ethnicity is perceived, the Bullock Report stresses a changed attitudes, that

‘no child should be expected to cast off language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, and the curriculum should reflect those of his life’

It goes on to add that

‘Their bilingualism is of great importance to the children and their families, and also to society as a whole. In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world we should see it as an asset, as something to be nurtured, and one of the agencies that should nurture it is the school’.

Education systems, whether it is Britain, America, Russia or China, whether it is a Capitalist or Marxist class based society of ‘masses’ and ‘elites’, they followed basically as assimilationist approach. India which is a country of 3000 mother tongues, 4000 castes and communities, 4000 religious faiths is basically integrationist in approach. So is Sri Lanka. It is true that infiltration of western values creates a strain in the integrationist scheme of things. In fundamentally orienting the minorities into the mainstream normative values, the fact remains, that social groups, be it major, minor or minority, are socially stratified. Not learning standard languages, implies not being competent and thus deprived of the opportunity to participate in the ‘mainstream’. In countries like Britain, minorities are cross-cultural in nature. Grammatically the structure of the English language is different from the structure of the minority languages. The glaring difference between English and most Indian languages is the SOV vs SVO system and the left expansion as opposed to the right expansion system. In the initial phases of the awareness of the multicultural composition of schools, little or no

attention was given to this, the main thrust was that minority children ought to acquire English as soon as possible. They were seen as a 'problem' and 'special provision' with negative connotations pervaded the educational scene. Moreover, the minorities themselves focussed attention on economic survival, upward mobility, reuniting families and adjusting into the new sociocultural milieu.

In a review of Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach*, 1987, and Norbert Dittmar. *A Critical Survey of Sociolinguistics: Theory and Application*. 1976. Le Page (*Journal of Linguistics*) discussing the various theoretical approaches to Sociolinguistics makes a very pertinent suggestion. Discussing the Belize City, where a standard creole has developed and that hierarchy within a social group is often a defense mechanism triggered to maintaining a separate identity, he says, 'In order to do sociolinguistics properly, that is in order to understand social and concomitant linguistic processes, our acts of identity - we must go deeper than Marx or Labov and discover those basic human and social needs which motivate all forms of individual and social behaviour and the mediating role of language'. Thus the emergence of the awareness to assert group identity is a matter of socio-cultural focus, 'that focussing may come about through close daily interaction, partly by the need for solidarity under external threat, partly through the models presented by powerful religious or political institutions or by a single revered individual'. The Tamil language in Britain is one among the 128 languages listed under minority languages in Britain. But it is not one among the 12 languages listed to make up for 76% of speakers of minority languages. The obvious question to ask is what avenues have the Tamils in Britain (who are a minority among the minorities) chosen as a 'defense mechanism' to assert their separate identity? How are members encouraged to conform to norms set to maintain a separate identity. More importantly, when there is a range of a dialects of Tamil brought into Britain, how do teachers of Tamil language in Britain, treat this diversity or variation to present standard Tamil, which is used to teach the reading and writing skills, thus lending a major role in focussing socio-cultural identity. The process is complex and this study aims at providing an insight to such processes.

Attention will be on the purposes use of Tamil serves in the community, and at the individual level, the extent to which Tamil is an active processor of language and information. Recent research studies suggest 'there are parallels between experience, and thinking and language development, each contributing to the total picture and aiding the development of others' (Moyle, 1982). The use of Tamil in a situation where Tamil

experience is distanced from its native environment, and where thinking and language development is to be nurtured in the context of the dominant language needs investigation.

Acquisition of language and culture have been studied separately. Studying both the phenomena cross culturally is an approach which is inter-disciplinary, integrated and developmental in nature.

Language use and language attitude are the two important factors which are emphasised in this study. Both these factors, as studies indicate, not only show the maintenance of language and observance of social order, but also cultural knowledge, both about one's own tradition and the host culture.

Tamils abroad

Tamil, whether language, literature or its speakers has been an important subject of study, in India and abroad. In the 18th century, France began a scientific and systematic study of Indian civilization. Their search for manuscripts led them mainly to the discovery of literature in Sanskrit and Tamil. It was mainly through the wealth of literature in Tamil and Sanskrit that Indian culture was unveiled. Indian Astronomy was studied through constant interaction with Tamil scholars like Maridas Pillai. (Nayagam, 1968). He was also the main source from where knowledge of religious ceremonies, festivals and customs of the Tamil country was learned. Tamil Nadu and Andhra were the two important regions from where knowledge of Indian language and culture were obtained. The main reason being 'the Vijayanagar Empire has been the most conservative Hindu Kingdom and, even after its fall, the Vedic and Hindu traditions were more firmly kept alive in the South East than anywhere else. These traditions were also preserved in two ways at the same time: through Sanskrit literature and through the old Tamil or the Telugu literature' (ibid). Later on, however, scholars turned mainly to the Sanskrit works for discovering the origins of Indian civilization. And several Vedantic philosophers like Shankara, Ramanuja and Madhava, who were mainly from Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada speaking regions, wrote in Sanskrit.

History has shown the reasons why people from different parts of India migrated to various parts of the world. They migrated mainly in search of upward economic mobility. They migrated as plantation workers, farmers, traders, blue and white collared jobs. The World Tamil Diaspora is as follows:

Country	Tamil Population	% of population of country
India		
Tamil Nadu	49,103,000	90.1
Kerala	1,064,000	5.0
Pondicherry	447,000	95.0
Rest of India including Karnataka and Andhra	600,000	
Total for India	51,214,000	7.5
Sri Lanka	3,598,000	30.0
Malaysia	1,045,000	10.0
South Africa	250,000	1.5
Burma	200,000	0.8
Singapore	145,000	7.0
Mauritius	60,000	7.2
Fiji	25,000	5.0
Guadelope	21,000	7.0
U.K.	15,000	-
Martinique	13,000	-
Guyana	10,000	2.0
U.S.A.	5,000	-
Canada	3,000	
Trinidad	3,000	-
France	3,000	-
New Caledonia & Tahiti	1,000	-
Total	56,611,000	

Source: *Tamil Times* (London, November, 1982)

In Sri Lanka 'The National Question and the Tamil Liberation Struggle'.
Satchi Ponnambalan. Zed Books Ltd. London. 1983.

Sri Lankan Tamils

'Two different Nations, from a very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the island; (in Ceylon). First the Cinhalese, inhabiting the interior of the country in its southern and western parts from the river Wallouve to that of Chilow, and secondly the Malabars (Tamils), who possess the northern and eastern districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religions, language and manners....' *Cleghorn Minutes 1799*.

Sri Lanka today is still recognised as a nation with two ethnic communities, Sinhalese and Tamils, different in terms of language, religion and culture. The Northern and Eastern Provinces are recognised de facto as Tamil speaking territories. The Sinhalese speak the Sinhalese language which is derived from a Prakrit dialect of the Indo-Aryan family of languages and Elu, the language of the original inhabitants. The Sinhalese are of Aryan origin, who immigrated from India in and around 500 BC. 'Two thousand four hundred and fortysix years ago a colony of Aryans from the city of Sinhapura in Bengal....sailed in a vessel in search of fresh pastures....The descendants of the Aryan colonists were called Sinhala after their city, Sinhapura, which was founded by Sinhabahu, the lion-armed king'. They form the majority ethnic group in Sri Lanka. The Tamils in Sri Lanka, are of Dravidian origin. They migrated earlier than the 11th century A.D. However, there is the belief that they settled in Sri Lanka long before the immigration of the Sinhalese. They eventually founded the kingdom of Jaffna. Sinhalese and Tamil are diglossic languages.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka, in the overall context of Sinhalese and Tamil, are seen as a 'society in which an entrenched dominant or at least privileged minority has become a 'persecuted' minority. This has repercussions in their participation in mainstream economic, political and social life. Further, the Tamils in Sri Lanka are two distinct groups, although ethnically and linguistically they have a common origin, they are different in terms of socio - economic and educational status. They are the Jaffna Tamils, who are privileged group and the under privileged Indian Tamils.

The Jaffna Tamils are domiciled for centuries. They are the high caste farmer-landowning group. The Indian Tamils, on the other hand are nineteenth century migrants from India. They are generally of low caste and went to Sri Lanka as cheap labour in rubber, coffee and tea plantations, owned by British colonialists. The population of Sri Lanka is as follows:

Sinhala	10,985,666	73.98%
Tamils	1,871,535	12.60%
Moors	1,056,972	7.12%
Indian Tamils	825,233	5.56%
Malays	43,378	0.28%
Burghers	38,236	0.26%
Others	28,981	0.20%

The population of Sri Lanka in terms of ethnic communities and religion are as follows:

Population of Sri Lanka by Ethnic Communities

Ethnic Community	1901	% of Total	1946	% of Total	1953	% of Total	1963	% of Total	1971	% of Total
Low country Sinhalese	1,458,320	40.9	2,902,509	43.6	3,469,51	42.8	4,472,340	42.4	5,445,706	42.8
Kandyan Sinhalese	872,487	24.5	1,718,998	25.6	2,147,194	26.5	3,045,410	28.8	3,700,973	29.1
Sri Lankan Tamils	951,740	26.7	733,731	11.0	844,703	10.9	1,170,310	11.1	1,415,567	11.1
Indian Tamils	n.a.	n.a.	780,589	11.7	974,098	12.0	1,122,850	19.6	1,196,368	9.4
Sri Lankan Muslims	228,034	6.4	373,559	5.6	463,963	5.7	661,590	6.3	824,291	6.5
Indian Muslims	n.a.	n.a.	35,264	0.6	47,462	0.6	27,290	0.3	29,416	0.2
Malays	11,902	0.3	22,508	0.3	25,404	0.3	24,130	0.2	41,615	0.3
Burgher & Eurasian	23,482	0.7	41,926	0.6	45,950	0.6	46,950	0.5	44,240	0.3
Other	19,989	0.5	53,814	0.8	39,550	0.5	20,090	0.2	13,957	0.1
Total	3,565,984		6,658,339		8,097,895		10,590,060		12,711,143	

Source: *Census of Ceylon* 1901, 1946, 1953, 1963, 1971

Appendix 2

Population of Sri Lanka by Religion

Religion	1901	1946	1953	1963	1971
Buddhists	2,141,404 (60.3)	4,294,932 (64.5)	5,209,439 (64.3)	7,020,780 (66.3)	8,567,570 (67.4)
Hindus	826,826 (23.8)	1,320,352 (19.8)	1,618,561 (20.0)	1,945,210 (18.4)	2,239,310 (17.6)
Christians	349,239 (9.8)	603,235 (9.1)	724,461 (8.9)	883,900 (8.3)	986,687 (7.7)
Muslims	246,118 (6.9)	36,556 (6.6)	541,506 (6.7)	70,840 (6.9)	909,941 (7.1)
Others	2,367 (0.0)	2,264 (0.0)	11,928 (0.1)	9,330 (0.1)	7,635 (0.1)
Total	3,565,984	6,657,339	8,097,895	10,590,060	12,711,143

SRILANKA: The National Question and the Tamil Liberation struggle Satchi Ponnambalam. Zed Books Ltd. London, 1983.

The distribution of the populations by religion, according to the 1981 Census ('000) was :

Buddhists	10,293
Hindus	2,296
Muslims	1,134
Roman Catholics	1,010
Other Christians	102
Others	15
Total	14,850

The Republican Constitution of 1972 made Sinhala the only language of administration 'without giving specific status to Tamil, or to Hinduism, Christianity or Islam. This situation created a new sense of unity among the Tamils of both communities and introduced a new note of extremism - including demands for secession - into the ethnic politics of the island' Bandarnaike (1955) voiced the following view:

'The fact that in the towns and villages in business houses, and in boutiques most of the work is in the hands of the Tamil speaking people will inevitably result in a fear, and I do not think an unjustified fear, of the inexorable shrinking of the Sinhalese language'

Thus religious, linguistic and ethnic identity keeps the groups apart. The Document for the international Commission of Jurists, had the following view:

'From all this it would appear that the policy of the Government though not expressly stated, is the relegation of the Tamils to the status of second-class citizens, and the eventual liquidation of the Tamils as a racial minority, and their absorption into the Sinhalese Community'.

For further documentary information see appendix:

Attitudes of the two groups to each others ethnicity is one of disparagement. Historically, they lived as two distinct peoples, till they were brought under foreign rule and domination. Anagarika Dharmapala, in 'History of an ancient civilization' 1902, has this to say of the Sinhalese:

'Ethnologically, the Sinhalese are a unique race, in as much as they can boast that they have no slave blood in them, and were never conquered by either the Pagan Tamils or European vandals who for three centuries devastated the land, destroyed ancient temples, burnt valuable libraries, and nearly annihilated the historic race....This bright, beautiful island was made

into a paradise by the Aryan Sinhalese before its destruction was brought about by the barbaric vandals’.

The Tamils view the Sinhalese as ‘Singalavar’ and the Sinhalese view the Tamils as ‘Demalas’. After the British left, children were taught in the mother tongue, resulting in the division of the population in terms of race and language. Religion is another factor that separates the two.

The crisis of identity among the Sinhalese majority and the dominant Tamil minority is deep rooted. Religion is a major factor. The several million Tamils in Tamil Nadu whose support is apparent lends the fear that the Buddhist Sinhalese will be overwhelmed by the Hindu Tamils. If one looks at religion as a factor in group solidarity religious identity divides ethnic and linguistic identity within the Tamil group. There is a clear division of interests among the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Tamils in Sri Lanka form three major religious groups. They are the Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. Ideologically, the Tamil Moslems in Sri Lanka perceive themselves as different. The Tamil population of Eastern Region of Sri Lanka is 46% (1981 Census) ‘Whilst the majority of the population in the Eastern region are Tamil speaking, nearly half of these are Moslems. The Moslem community have never been interested in separation....it was made abundantly clear....that the whole concept of Eelam and linking with the Hindu Tamils was totally alien to this community’ (*Some Impressions of Sri Lanka*). It is not known whether there are Sri Lankan Muslim Tamils in London. While interviewing Sri Lankan Tamils in London, the Christians as well as the Hindus are aware of each other’s areas of concentration, the places where Temples and Churches are. There does not however seem to be any ideological difference among these two groups.

Social hierarchy in Sri Lanka is an important social fact. Various factors contributed to a caste based society. Arasaratnam put it very clearly:

‘Sinhalese Kings used to marry into Tamil royal families. The royal brides and their retinues were absorbed into Sinhalese culture’.

‘Small groups of craftsmen settled in Sinhalese villages in a predominantly Sinhalese population and were assimilated. There is evidence that some Sinhalese castes originated in this manner’.

‘An ever increasing number of mercenary soldiers were brought from South India by the Sinhalese kings. These people lived in their cantonments with little or no contact with the Sinhalese. Here they continued practising their own ways of life, language and religion’.

‘The caste system as it developed among the Tamils in Ceylon shows basic characteristics of the Dravidian system of South India, with some peculiarities evolved by an immigrant population’.

The caste system is based on occupation with Brahmins as specialists in rituals, the Vellalas, the key caste in the Tamil social system were agriculturists, the Kovias, who tilled the soil, yet were the bier carriers of the Vellalas and were also barbers and washermen. The Pallas and Nalavas were landless labourers who worked in the fields of the Vellalas. A caste group known as the Parayas, who immigrated from India, perform scavenging jobs. They are the untouchables. The Fisher caste fall outside this system and are not associated with the Vellalas.

‘In spite of external influences, the caste structure among the Tamils has remained unaltered for centuries, unlike the Sinhalese, among whom recent economic and social changes have altered the whole system. The retention of this old framework of caste has made Tamil society a conservative one, the Jaffna peninsula being more so than the other parts’.

Thus, in Sri Lanka, the overall network of groups is stratified. Social distance within patterns of intergroup relations exists and a ‘I-We’ dichotomy maintained. When an ethnic group migrates, and more so to a dominant western cultural tradition there comes a stage when the group begins to assert and maintain their ethnic identity. History is replete with examples of identity assertion. The nature of this characterization, one would naturally construe, could lead in two directions. One is the maintenance of the clear social dichotomy that exists in the homeland. And the other, is, wiping out at the surface level, those features of intergroup distance that could weaken the cause of holding the ethnic group together in a foreign country. ‘Caste’ has been and continuous to be a topic of heated discussion. Research on its different aspects and its overall importance and influence on society continues. In a class based society, one could ride up the economic ladder and achieve higher social status. But in a caste hierarchy, one could ride up the economic ladder, but one cannot transcend the caste category. In India, there are cases of people achieving high education and consequent high professional and economic status in spite of caste. However, caste binds the individual in day to day social functioning and maintenance of social distance.

India has been referred to as a society hierarchically structured in terms of caste. On the basis of caste, groups are identified as speaking caste dialects. Until recently most scholars divided them into the Brahmin dialect, non-Brahmin dialect and the Harijan dialect. Bean (1976) in her survey of ‘Linguistic variation and the caste system in India’ concludes that ‘caste status is the dominant variable’. Pattanayak (1976) suggested that the notion of ‘caste dialect is unscientific and unnecessary’, ‘caste difference in dialects

may be marginally determinant variables only at the rural sub-caste level and that 'scholars who have investigated language variation in India have taken caste dialect for granted as an a priori assumption'. Several scholars, national and international, took issues with this line of argument and their comments were published. (IJDL, Vol. IV No. 2 and Vol. V No.1) Pattanayak's contention is that there is a distinction between the structure and function of caste on the one hand and that of language on the other. Therefore caste and language cannot be treated as coterminous. In his reply to all the comments (IJDL Vol. V No.1) he says 'In the process of modernization of the traditional society of India, caste is also in the process of transforming its structure into a corporate group while fulfilling its social function. Caste as a social group even if it continues to provide an important alternative to one's life chances and act as an identity marker in the process of change, such identity carries over to other sets of social categories'.

Discussing 'Tamil Today', Shanmugam Pillai (1972) points out vertical and horizontal differences in Literary and Colloquial Tamil. That 'extensive knowledge of Literary Tamil does not automatically guarantee an easy understanding of Colloquial Tamil'. Regional differences are horizontal variations and social differences are vertical variations in any given region. Caste and region contribute to variations in Tamil. And that there is a gradient from caste dialects to Standard Spoken Tamil. Cinema is the medium, most exploited in the use of various forms of Tamil to indicate caste and social variations. The Tamils are said to be frequent film watchers. And this has resulted in people, especially the younger generation, acquiring and using dialect variations in contextual situations. Shanmugam Pillai makes a very interesting point when he says that Standard Spoken Tamil is preferred because 'people are anxious to shed caste markers in speech' (ibid).

The questionnaire administered to Tamils in London sought to find out their caste affiliation. Unlike the Bangalore situation (Bayer, 1986) where caste plays a major role, in London, caste as a category is almost non-existent. The religious affiliation is significant.

Aims of the survey

The study envisages the following factors as important:

1. Size of the group
2. Areas of concentration/dispersion
3. The other groups who live in and around the neighbourhood
4. Areas of settlement: urban: rural
5. Status of language in education or community centres
6. The role of cultural organizations in the promotion of language and identity, community's interest.

7. Attitudes to language: own/English
8. Access to and use of one's language with members of the community excluding home.
9. Ancestry as a factor of group identity.
10. The extent of use of Tamil language in public meetings.

Individuals belong to groups, groups form society, and society forms a state (Haarmann, 1986). An individual in society is primarily perceived to be a member of a social group, whose responsibility is to uphold the norms and interests of the group. In the context of immigrants, preservation of values necessarily entails that the size of the group is large enough to uphold and perpetuate group values. Should the size of the group be small, so as to be weaker in power relations vis-a-vis the dominant group, then maintenance of their language and culture becomes questionable. Particularly, when majority groups demand assimilation of the minority groups, then the first casualty becomes language.

There is another perspective to the majority-minority dichotomy which eliminate minor languages. In America, Black English and Spanish may be minority languages, but many of the American Indian languages are minor languages. In England, out of the 128 languages listed in the 1981 Census, some groups are so small that their advice and consent is not sought on their own terms as they are minor languages. Languages, such as Bengali, Tamil, Gujarati, Punjabi and Hindi-Urdu are minority languages whose speakers cannot be ignored in talking about education and political participation.

Size of the group

There is no clear evidence to indicate the distribution and number of Tamil speakers in England. Whatever, exists, just indicates that Tamil is one among the over 120 minority languages in Britain. Tamil does not even fall within the 12 languages that account for 76% of pupils whose first language is not English. Greg Smith, in his Linguistic Minority Project Working Paper No.2 on 'The Geography and Demography of South Asian Languages in England: some methodological problems' points out:

'Since there are no official statistics relating to languages, the only information about the distribution of the language groups across the country comes from a relatively informal collection of gathered knowledge about different localities. The main South Asian languages spoken in England in the 1980's are all from the northern part of the sub-continent. Given the historical relationship between them, the nature of the Indo- Aryan dialect continuum, and the way that language is used and mobilised as an ethnic and regional boundary marker in the sub- continent (see Das Gupta: 1970;

Shapiro and Schiffmann: 1981; Mobbs:forthcoming). It is a vast oversimplification to attempt to establish the precise numbers of people who actually speak the standard languages of India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. However, even in the minority overseas situation, families with origins in South Asia are likely to identify their own speech with one or more of the official languages of their region of origin. In this sense we can say that the major language groups represented in England are Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali and Pakistani Punjabi- Urdu'.

The Linguistic Minority Projects Report (Michael Stubbs. *The Other Languages of England*. 1985) indicates 'Malayalam and Tamil speakers in parts of London (as secondary migrants from Malaysia and Singapore) (p.43).

It can thus be construed that speakers of Dravidian languages are a minority among the minorities in Britain. There are Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada speakers in England. Talking to members running the Kannada school in Harrow, the estimated number of Kannada families in England is five hundred. Questions raised with leaders of Tamil Welfare Groups in Wimbledon, Harrow and Eastham, as to the approximate number of Tamils in England, drew varied estimates. According to one, there are six thousand families in South London, that is approximately 25-30,000 people, men, women and children, in the five boroughs of Southwark, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Merton and Sutton. These are mainly Tamils from Sri Lanka. Knowledge of Indian Tamils is rather scarce. Awareness of the existence of Indian Tamils pervades among the Sri Lankan Tamils, but not exact location. Members of the Church in Manor Park are of the opinion that on an average there are one hundred families of Tamil origin who are Christian as well as Hindu, Indian, Sri Lankan as well as Singaporean and Malaysian. No exact information is available of the Tamils in Harrow.

There are 24 Tamil schools spread across England. The fact that there are that many Tamil schools, is a clear indication that Tamil speakers in England are quite large in number, be they of Indian, Sri Lankan, Singaporean, Malaysian or even East African origin. The West London Tamil School in Greenford is said to be the largest among the Tamil schools. It runs 13 language classes. Students are divided according to ability. There are classes from Nursery to '0' level. The Tamil school in Harrow has approximately 50 students so has the Watford Tamil School. The Tamil school run at the Plaseth Girls' school, Plaseth, Eastham has 60 students.

General Information

The sample for the study on the Tamils in London were collected from Wimbledon and Harrow which is a concentration of Sri Lankan Tamils and

Eastham which is that of the Indian Tamils in London. The total sample consists of 26 males and 33 females (44.06% males and 55.93% females).

There are 21 (44.66%) males and 24 (53.33%) females from Wimbledon and Harrow, whereas there are five (35.71%) males and 9 (64.28%) females from the Eastham group. This makes a total of 45 (76.27%) Sri Lankan Tamils and 14 (23.72%) Indian Tamils.

As regards age group, there are 39 (66.10%) who are below 45 years and 20 (33.89%) above 45 years. Among them, the Sri Lankan Tamils constitute 29 (64.44%) below 45 years, and 16 (35.55%) above 45 years, whereas among the Indian Tamils, 10 (71.42%) are below 45 years and 4 (28.57%) above 45 years.

Religion-wise, there are 41 (69.49%) Hindus and 18 (30.50%) Christians. The Sri Lankan Tamils constitute 37 (82.22%) Hindus and 8 (17.77%) Christians and the Indian Tamils 4 (28.57%) Hindus and 10 (71.42%) Christians.

Their length of stay is that 22 (37.28%) are in England for 5 or less than 5 years, 14 (28.81%) are in England between 5-10 years, 17 (28.81%) between 10-20 years and 6 (10.16%) are in England for over 20 years.

As far as schooling is concerned, among the Sri Lankan Tamils, all subjects, both male and female, have had secondary education. 20 (95.23%) males and 7 (29.16%) females have had post-secondary education. Among the Indian Tamils, all, both male and female, have had secondary education. 1 (11.11%) male has had post- secondary education. .

Their medium of instruction is as follows:

Level	Tamil		English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
SRI LANKANS				
Primary	71.42 (15)	62.50 (15)	23.80 (5)	37.50 (9)
Middle	42.85 (9)	45.83 (11)	47.61 (10)	54.16 (13)
Secondary	19.04 (4)	41.66 (10)	71.42 (15)	62.50 (15)
Post				
Secondary			90.47 (19)	25.00 (6)
INDIAN TAMILS				
Primary	40.00 (2)	66.66 (6)	60.00 (3)	33.33 (3)
Middle	60.00 (3)	66.66 (6)	40.00 (2)	22.22 (2)
Secondary	40.00 (2)	55.55 (5)	60.00 (3)	44.44 (4)
Post				
Secondary			20.00 (1)	

The Sample

The target population was Tamils in London. It was however found out that there are four categories of Tamils in London: the Sri Lankan Tamils, the Indian Tamils, the Singaporean Tamils and the Malay Tamils. The Indian Tamils who worked in Malaysia and Singapore and since migrated to UK identify themselves as Singaporean and Malay Tamils.

The Sri Lankan Tamils form the bulk of Tamil population in London. They live in three homogeneous communities in Wimbledon, Harrow and Eastham. 45 questionnaires from 45 persons, 21 male and 24 female, 37 Hindu and 8 Christian were collected.

The Indian Tamils form the next larger group. 14 questionnaires, 5 male and 9 female, 4 Hindu and 10 Christian were collected from Manor Park in Eastham.

The above sample is a fragment of the questionnaires administered. However, the sample is representative of the groups and statistically valid.

Although, this was random sampling, access to the members was following the entry into a network approach. One person was contacted who gave further contacts, which opened up still further contacts from out of which the sample was chosen.

Methodology

Fieldwork entails social interaction. A knowledge of the social group is a prerequisite to fieldwork. A Sociolinguistic field work also pre-supposes a design which studies the society from Sociological as well as Linguistic perspectives and synchronic as well as diachronic perspectives. In the present case diachronic features are sought to be apprehended through synchronic study. Grandfather's language use as well as place of origin are studied in the context of contemporary language use under immigrant conditions.

The work on the Tamils in Bangalore (Bayer, 1986) prompted the researcher to work on the Tamils in London. Its design provided the broad framework for the current study. Although the milieu was different, it was lucky to get a congenial field and support from diverse sources.

The present study does neither aim at a description of the Tamil spoken by different groups in London nor does it aim at a comprehensive comparative study of the social structure inherited by them, and their possible fusion. It is a Sociolinguistic study which aims at capturing aspects of attitudes, identities and language use.

The interest in the study of minorities in UK is very recent. Almost no work has been done on the Sociolinguistic study of the Tamils in UK prior to this. The study entitled 'Language Maintenance and group identity: The attitudes and perceptions of language and ethnicity amongst Sri Lankan Tamils in Harrow' by Charlene Rajendran in fulfilment of her requirement for MA Linguistics degree, University of York, 1988, is based on five questionnaires and concentrates primarily on issues of identity.

Design of the Questionnaire

A questionnaire, Oppenheim (1966) has argued, '..... is not just a list of questions or a form to be filled out', it '.....is essentially a scientific instrument for measurement and for collection of particular kinds of data. Like all such instruments, it has to be specially designed according to particular specifications'. The questionnaire which was self-administered was designed keeping in view the specific field conditions in the UK.

Essentially the questionnaire aimed at discovering the place of origin, structure of the family, language skills achieved and preferred, language use across role relationships and across domains, identity, attitude and kinship.

Questions 1-5 relate to self-identification

Questions 6-9 relate to place of origin

Questions 10-11 and 13-14 relate to language skills achieved

Question 12 relates to structure of the family

Questions 15-16 relate to language use across role relationships

Questions 18-20 relate to language use in different domains

Questions 21-30 relate to identity and attitude

Question 31 relates to kinship

Questions 23-24 were specially included to find out the language preferences for 'sons' and 'daughters'. Studies in the slums of Bombay show that Hindi speaking parents prefer Marathi medium for 'sons' whereas Hindi medium for 'daughters'. The reason for this is that while the sons would seek employment in Maharashtra, the daughters would be married in their home states. It was found out that such situations does not exist in the group under study in UK.

The nature of interviews and observations

Two types of interviews were resorted to in this study. Structured interview where the interviewer worked from a schedule and unstructured interview which was playing by the ear keeping in view the overall objectives of the study.

The structured interviews primarily concentrated on two issues, one on marriage, whether it is arranged, whether horoscopes are matched, whether auspicious time is followed and where do marriages take place. The second is who looks after the old in the family, whether they stay with the family, whether they are sent to a home for the aged, or are they sent to the home of origin? Both these are meant to supplement questions on the structure of the family.

There were two kinds of observations, one of them being participant-observation. The interviewer was visible, identified with the groups while participating in school activities and other social functions including functions in a Temple and a Church. A 'star nite' organised by the Sri Lankan Tamils to which singers, dancers, musicians and jesters came from Tamil Nadu, India gave an opportunity to study first hand the cultural basis which unite the Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils. This provided insight into the behaviour patterns of the population and gave a chance to see it against the norms expressed in response to questions.

The second, is the non-participant observation, which is primarily observing the groups through documentary sources. Books, pamphlets, posters, magazines, newspapers, were studied to see the background of the group under study.

Structure of the family

The aim in studying the structure of the family is mainly to find out whether in a western cultural tradition, the 'joint family', a tradition in Asian societies, which however is changing, is still maintained. The norm in the western tradition is the nuclear type of family. The general trend among both the Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils is the nuclear type of family. There are families that are 'joint' but then it is not the same type that exists back home. In most cases, it is the parent or parents of either spouse that lives with them. In some cases, they are here on a holiday, or because they have no one to stay with back home that brings them over here. There are also views that a time will come when Asians will need to send the old to senior citizen homes out of necessity. The reason given is that since both husband and wife work, it is difficult to cope with looking after the old.

Marriages are generally arranged. In maintaining the traditions back home, auspicious time, matching of horoscope, and all that goes with traditional Asian marriages are followed. Marriages are held either at home, in the Temple or in a hired hall.

Language skills

Two questions were administered to ascertain the language skills controlled by the 'ego' and the language skills expected of their children. As far as the 'males' in Eastham are concerned, two, below the age of 45 years do not have control over Sinhalese, whereas one of the two above the age of 45 years understands and speak Sinhalese. As far as the 'males' from Wimbledon and Harrow are concerned, out of the 14 in the age group below 45 years, one controls all the four skills in Sinhalese and two understand and speak Sinhalese. Out of the 7 above the age of 45 years two understand and speak Sinhalese.

As regards the 'females' from Eastham, all the nine belonging to the two age groups do not control Sinhalese. Among those from the Wimbledon and Harrow group, out of the 14 below the age of 45 years, two control all the four skills in Sinhalese. Four understand, and three speak Sinhalese. Out of the ten above the age of 45 years, one controls all the four skills and four understand and speak Sinhalese. Thus it will be seen that Tamil-Sinhalese bilingualism exists more in the age group above 45 years.

As regards skills in English and Tamil, all subjects in both groups, male and female control all the four skills. With an exception. A female from Eastham, in the age group of above 45 years does not read or write Tamil. When asked the reason why, she said her children does it for her. The same person together with another female in the same age group do not control English. One below the age or 45 years does not speak, read and write English, whereas she understands English.

As regards children, a very interesting pattern emerges. The Tamils coming from Singapore prefer their children to study Malay and Chinese in addition to English and Tamil. The ones coming from India would like their children to study Telugu in addition to Tamil and English. There are Telugu speakers who are settled for generations in Tamil Nadu. They identify themselves with Tamil, though they speak Telugu at home. Some of the Sri Lankan Tamils prefer their children to control Hindi skills. Sanskrit and Latin are two classical languages which are preferred by some for their children. Chinese, French and German are the foreign languages which are preferred by some parents. All subjects in the sample prefer their children to control the four skills in Tamil as well as English, for obvious reasons.

Being minority groups, the parents are convinced that studying more languages is more advantageous for their children, in coping with the world of tomorrow. Whether it is professional advancement or advancement in Trade Commerce or Industry, many languages provide greater facility.

Language Use in various domains

The study examines patterns of language use in the following domains:

1. At home: across role relationships

'Always' is taken to mean that language used in the home with a specific role relationship is 'only' in the language so reported. Which means, mother tongue is 'always' used and no other language is used. Or a language is used and no other language.

'Usually' and 'Sometimes' is taken to mean that not one but more than one language is used with a specific role relationship. Which means, that an individual 'usually' uses the mother tongue and 'sometimes' uses English or viceversa.

The relationships taken for the study are 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'mother', 'father', 'spouse', 'children', 'sister/brother/cousin' and 'inlaws'.

2. With friends:

- a) Tamil
- b) Non-Tamil but Asian
- c) Non-Asian

The distinction made under the category of friends was to study whether mother tongue is used with mother tongue speaking friends, and whether other Asians know Tamil, or whether Tamils know other Asian languages. And whether non-Asians know Asian languages.

3. Media:

- a) TV/Video
- b) Radio: Music, News, Other
- c) Newspapers/Magazines/Literature

'Media' in the British situation could be taken to mean that only English is used for the purposes of reading, music and video/TV programmes. Minorities in such situations tend to draw upon mother tongue media materials and programmes from other sources. The aim was to study such processes.

Tamil is 'always' used with 'grandfather' and 'grandmother'. Although a large number indicate that Tamil is always used with 'mother' and 'father', there is a slight shift in the use of Tamil to English. This trend increases with relationships such as 'spouse', 'children', and 'brothers/

sisters/cousins'. This is particularly so with the age group below 45 years. There is no significant difference between 'males' and 'females', in their use of language.

The Tamils as immigrants in England, as is indicated in other studies, on Linguistic Minorities, shift to the dominant language for purposes of education, administration and mass communication. And this interferes in the domain of the home, where mother tongue is supposed to be used in intimate domains. Thus, use of mother tongue in the domain of the home is shared with English.

In the domain of language use with friends, the aim is to abstract differences, if any. Does language use, in an immigrant situation change in domains outside the home? This is all the more important, when the dominant language is the language of power, status and wealth, as well as the language for international communication. One would have expected that English will be the main language used with friends including Tamil friends.

Analysis of the data indicates that Tamil is used with Tamil friends and English with Asian and non-Asian friends. Thus this is an indication of guarded choice of Tamil in as many domains as is possible, therefore, contributing to overall patterns of process of language maintenance.

The general trend is to watch the regular TV programmes through BBC and ITV. Discussions with members of the community as well as data from the questionnaire indicate that watching Tamil video films is a regular feature in any single Tamil home. Most members have very categorically said that watching a Tamil film every week, is one way of continuing the Tamil cultural tradition, more specifically, in a western cultural setting.

This is also true of newspaper/magazines and literature. English is one of the languages. But special efforts are made by the community to lay their hands on as many Tamil newspapers/ magazines and literature as is possible.

At this point, it is interesting to add that in most homogeneous Asian areas of concentration in London, reading material, music and video films are available in most grocery stores. There are also exclusive Asian music and video shops.

Language attitudes and social identity

The study of language attitude is very broad in nature. It is ambivalent and complicated. In fact, it is probably most difficult to demarcate where attitude begins and ends and where social identity begins or ends. It could

mean that use of language reflects attitudes. That language status determines social status and social status determines language status. Political events could change attitudes to language. The example of the non-Brahmin variety of Tamil in Tamil Nadu, India, overpowering the Brahmin variety is a point in case. In Andhra Pradesh, India, where Telugu is the dominant language is another example. The *sistvyavaharika* style was preferred over the *granthika* style. Attitudes to language influences language planning, Policies on language are directed in a particular way keeping in view the attitudes to a language and its speakers. The case of Konkani, in Goa, India, declared the language of the state, after a long fight, is an example. Attitudes to languages of linguistic minorities and attitudes of linguistic minorities to languages they are situated in, is another broad aspect of studies on attitudes.

The essence of most studies on linguistic minorities and their attitudes to the dominant language as well as their own is that one learns the language as a necessity for survival. Higher skills in the language means rising in better education, employment and higher income. And in some cases, acquiring higher skills in the language leads to the suppression of the mother tongue. Parents are responsible for this because they think that mother tongue delays the acquisition of the dominant language. (Caranza, Ryan, 1975) This leads to children acquiring the values of the second language. Lambert (1967, *ibid*) is of the view that a bilingual is involved not only in learning the second language, but also develops a set of attitudes and motives that are intimately connected with language learning. In many cases these attitudes and motives are reinforced by the dominant society. The minority therefore end up having positive attitudes towards the dominant language and negative attitudes towards their mother tongue. Lambert's study showed that for the Mexican American the dilemma is one of 'push-pull' situation. On the one hand they are forced to learn English because of political, social and economic forces and on the other they are 'pulled' or 'encouraged' to keep using their mother tongue by their sense of group identity.

Stoddard (1973) found that the amount of stress on language as an identity factor varied from one generation to another, but that some degree of language as identity symbol was present. To many Mexican Americans, the person who loses his Spanish tongue to learn English is looked upon as being a 'vendido' (sell out) to his own culture. Fishman (1971) considers a bilingual to associate one speech variety 'with status, high culture and aspiration towards social mobility (High Language) while the second variety is associated with solidarity, comradeship and intimacy (Low language)'. In short use of language in a bi/multi lingual situation is functional, that is use of language(s) is dependent on the status of the speaker/hearer, their roles, its context and the domain.

The concept of mother tongue and the pragmatic basis of bilingualism in the British context has been extensively discussed and researched into. Mother tongue is not only perceived as being used in intimate domains, but

also mother tongue education is seen as the enriching and stabilizing agent in the overall development of the individual. In the context of the ongoing debate of the role and status of the mother tongue in the mainstream of British education, it was found appropriate to discuss with members of the community the question of attitude to Tamil as medium of instruction, Tamil in primary and secondary school and Tamil in voluntary schools. This also indirectly indicates attitudes to English. Mahendra Verma (1987) discussing 'Issues of mother tongue maintenance' with specific reference to the British context makes pertinent conclusions. That 'the teaching of both mother tongue and English is of indisputable value in the full educational and socio-psychological development of the minority children. If mother tongues are not made an essential part of pre-secondary education they will be lost irretrievably. Sound educational planning, based on true pluralism, can help children to be bilingual and biliterate and even to acquire, perhaps, two mother tongues. A transitional model, on the other hand, will lead only to language shift and assimilation'. A section of Michael Marland's book 'Multilingual Britain' delves into 'Teaching through the mother tongue' and recommends that 'subjects in the fourth year secondary and above be taught in a mother tongue - not because the pupil cannot learn the subject but that he or she will extend the mother tongue best that way'. If one takes into consideration these two points of view and compares it with the attitudes of the Tamils to English and Tamil interesting views emerge.

Perhaps the time is not yet ripe for members to opt for mother tongue as medium of instruction, especially so in the present ecological environment. In fact in a similar study on the Tamils as a linguistic minority in Bangalore, India (Bayer, 1986) the question of medium of instruction has been studied. Minorities in India, in fact all citizens in India have the option to study through mother tongue medium. The study shows that English as medium is generally opted for in higher education. And at the same time efforts are being made to develop major Indian languages for higher education. In the present study, all subjects disagree that children ought to study through the Tamil medium. In fact some remind us that 'only English medium is available'. This is obvious, keeping in mind the state of the art in mother tongue education at this time of the whole debate. A majority agree that their children ought to study Tamil in primary and secondary schools. But once again considering the state at which the whole issue exists, where debates still continue, policy makers still diffident and the non-availability of appropriate teaching material, a majority of members of the community avail of opportunities that exist at the moment, and send their children to the voluntary schools.

A part of the interview with members of the community reflected on the issue of language as an important token of identity. Most members were of the view that, as immigrants, in a western cultural tradition, learning of the

mother tongue is an important aspect of maintenance of Tamil socio-cultural traditions. However, there was one exception to this view. And to make the point more poignant, sections of the member's views are given below:

'I do not want to emphasize learning language. Whatever level is maintained at home is sufficient to go back and the environment will re-inforce Tamil, if necessary. One cannot wipe off our identity, colour is sufficient to maintain a separate identity. Culture, of course, is in our blood, so, culture, cannot be lost'.

As a child, this individual goes on to say that

'I grew up with Sinhalese and Tamils. I did not know the difference. Even if there is one, I concede to the basic difference, but at the level of living as a social group, one needs to keep the basic difference apart. Life is short and there are other good qualities in the 'other' to 'appreciate' if not 'follow'.

On the question of whether he sends his child to learn Tamil in the voluntary school, he has this to say

'may as well go and learn tennis or swimming than spend time learning Tamil'.

Although, irrelevant to the study, this person seemed entirely different from other members. So the discussion led to the ongoing movement in Sri Lanka for a separate state. Quite interestingly he says that he is 'proud to be a Tamil. If the fight is for a separate Eelam, the fight is best fought at the homeland'. He is opposed to the fact that the fight for a separate Eelam is also voiced from afar. What he meant was that the taste of bitterness, pain, suffering and sorrow, in such an endeavour, is an experience best felt in Sri Lanka.

One needs to look at attitudes to language and social identity from the perspective of members of the community who run Tamil schools as well as those English elite who are involved in such efforts as a result of holding certain administrative offices.

The voluntary schools run by the Tamil community has the support of the education system, in terms of funds and physical facilities to run these schools. As of today, according to reliable information from Headmasters, there are 24 Tamil schools in London. All those schools, more or less, have similar aims and objectives. For example, the Tamil Academy of Language and Arts, Kirkdale, runs the following classes:

'Tamil Language and Literature (London 'O' Level)
Karnatic Music, Vocal, Veena, Flute, Violin and Mrudangam
Bharatha Natyam - Classical Dance
Computing: Basic Language and Word Processing
Video and Photography'

Their cultural activities include

'Prayer for Goddess of Education
Deepavali
Christmas
Pongal Vizha
Tamil New Year
End of Term Celebration'

As can be seen emphasis is not only on Tamil language and culture. There is emphasis also on 'new technology' and acculturation 'Christmas' and 'End of term celebration'.

The Heritage International of Tamils for Education and Culture, London E 12 6 BT has the following aims and objectives:

'Promotion of any charitable purposes for the benefit of Tamil speaking people and their families resident in Greater London Area.

Promotion of the rights and welfare of Tamil women and children.

Promotion of Tamil monthly magazine, named 'Sindhu'.

Promoting the Tamil Art and Culture by organising plays, dramas, music and dance events.

Promotion of the Tamil education.

Assisting and working together with other community groups'.

This is not only similar to the Tamil Academy of Language Arts but is wider in the sense that it 'assists and works with other community groups'. In fact, the Trinity Centre, in Manor Park, Eastham, is a centre where regular inter-faith lunches provides an opportunity for dialogues between various religions in order to grow in mutual understanding and to learn from each other's faiths. (People First, 1987.)

The Harrow Tamil school, based at Nower Hill High School, Pinner Road, North Harrow, has Tamil Language and cultural studies as their stated goal. Time, at two school sessions was spent at this school. Besides sitting through the Tamil language and drama class, a recording of a

Tamil poem, recited by a few children, individually, has been recorded. In addition, an actual Tamil language class and a violin class in the classroom situation has been recorded. The outstanding feature of this school is the 'Assembly' where children in the midst of their parents sing a Tamil poem composed by Punitham Perinparaja Convenor and Coordinator of the school. The Tamil and English version is as follows:

Emmoli Thamil

*Emmoli Thamil
Vaarungaḷ karpōme*

Amma appa pāṭṭā pāṭṭi

*Pēsuvadu Thamil
Naamum pe:suvōm*

Eluththu kūṭṭi vasippathakku

Viraivil kathiduvōm

*Thamil kadaikalai naamum eludi
Polaraiyum mahilvippōm*

Emmoli....

Engaḷ suyamoli aliyāmal

Endrum kathiduvōm

Iyal Isai Nādagam

Muththamilai vaḷarththiduvōm

Emmoli....

Chorus

**My Language is Tamil
Come let us learn it**

**Mother Father
Grandpa Grandma
speak Tamil
We too will speak it**

Let us spell and read quickly
Let us write stories in Tamil
and make everyone happy

In order that our Language does not die
Let us always develop it

Literature, Music, Dance and Drama
The combined Acts let us preserve

(Source: Author herself)

Thus a conglomerate of cultural patterns are adopted to maintain the Tamil language and culture in England.

In the brochure, brought out on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Institute of Tamil Culture, Tolworth, Surrey, the Headmaster, in his message very clearly brings out the basic theme of running these weekend schools.

'Two years is too short a time to measure the progress of an institution that was launched to educate the young generation of the Tamils in their mother tongue. When one talks of mother tongue in this country oftentimes it is disputed that the mother tongue of those living in the United Kingdom is English. Those of us who are aware of our deep seated culture and the richness of the literature rightly consider that our mother tongue is Tamil. Therefore the need to propagate our language while imbibing what the host country offers is always felt'.

He goes on to stress that such an effort is not only of those who run it but parents are part of the whole venture.

'The Week-end school can lay claim to have taught children born in this country to read and write Tamil. Great interest is evinced by the children in the learning of fine arts. Latent talents of the children could be brought out only through the encouragement given by parents'.

The above view goes to illustrate avenues resorted to in the assertion and manifestation of Tamil identity in England.

Motivation and interest in the maintenance of traditional values, is reinforced when there are positive attitudes from different streams in the dominant language educational system. Although 'The English language is a central unifying factor in 'being British' (Swann Report), there are concurrent streams which operate to support maintenance of minority community languages. In a message from the Mayor of Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames to the anniversary of the Institute of Tamil Culture, he says.

'It is very pleasing to see an organisation fostering and developing the Tamil culture within our community. Your work does much to enhance the cultural diversity in our area'.

The Chief Executive of the same Borough says that

'The Institute's role in promoting Tamil culture is one which I continue to admire and support. Although better integration of differing cultures within British society is an important objective, there must remain room to celebrate the rich diversity of distinctive cultural heritages, and to preserve individual cultural realities'.

As the Institute well recognizes, the propagation of the mother tongue plays a vital part in the preservation of your cultural heritage, enabling the richness of Tamil literature in particular to be experienced and enjoyed by the young. I hope I can continue to make some contribution towards the success of the Institute'.

(Erochure, Institute of Tamil Culture. Cultural Evening 23rd April, 1988, Tolworth, Surrey)

In a review of Michael Marland's book entitled 'Multilingual Britain', in the Times Educational Supplement (29.1.1988) Mahendra Verma welcomes the book and writes a critique of attitudes to bilingualism and community languages in Britain.

He says

'Swann's monolithic concept of 'identity' runs counter to the concept of 'Acts of Identity' (LePage 1985) which is reflected in any multilingual and multicultural society, including the British society. While Swann is not prepared to recommend that schools 'seek to assume the role of community providers for maintaining ethnic minority community languages, some local authorities are in fact ahead of Swann, discussing and to some extent recognizing the merits of linguistic diversity, and the ways to meet the 'linguistic needs' (not only English language needs) of their pupils.

Thus, from the above views, the implications are that attitudes to Tamil language and culture are strong and positive. Maintenance or loss of the mother tongue is part of the natural process of social change. Ecological factors contribute to such processes. The Tamils in London have learned through experience, that Tamil language can be lost if the community do not make concerted efforts. In fact, children of members of the community, in the age group of 15 plus do not see any value in learning the reading and writing skills in Tamil. The Tamil schools can thus be seen as a source for the continued use of Tamil by all its speakers. The very fact that the community perceive the importance of learning Tamil in primary and secondary school is a point to be taken seriously.

As a result of meeting members of the community in their homes, observations of the community yielded another aspect of social identity. While interviewing members, observations such as the following were noted as symbols of identity markers.

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| a. Furnishings | h. music |
| b. Books/magazines | i. hair do |
| c. Food/ingredients | j. toys/play things |
| d. utensils | k. religious icons |
| e. musical instruments | l. wall hangings/
door hangings/
floor decorations |
| f. cosmetics | |
| g. dress | |

24 homes were visited as part of administering the questionnaire. The researcher lived for a period of two days and four days with two Tamil families, one of Sri Lankan origin and the other of Indian origin. All homes, do have a combination of the above categories as symbols of their social identity. There are small corners of worship in most homes. Religious icons are either hung on walls, or are on shelves. Temples and Churches are comparable to Temples and Churches in India. Traditional dress and all that goes with it are apparent. Most Indian and Sri Lankan groceries are available in Asian shopping centres, as well as other markets.

Three questions related to aspects of social identity. For examples, one would expect that members of the community will consult a General Practitioner who speaks their language. So a question was asked as to who is their GP.

Among the Sri Lankan Tamils, 66.66% of the males go to a South Asian GP, that is, either a Tamil speaking GP or a non-Tamil but Indian GP. This is true of the females also, 62.50% go to a South Asian GP. 33.33% males and 37.50% females go to a English GP.

Among the Indian Tamils all the males go to a Tamil speaking GP. 88.88% of the females go to a South Asian GP, 11.11% go to a English GP. It is interesting to note that this woman is a Tamil monolingual. And interacts with the GP through her husband.

A question was asked as to how do they identify themselves. That is members were given a choice of six categories to select from the following:

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Tamil | 2. Sri Lankan Tamil / Indian Tamil |
| 3. Indian/Sri Lankan | 4. British |
| 5. British Tamil | 6. English |

The main aim is to study patterns of identity. It is possible that after having migrated to Britain, there may be changes in identity. What emerges from the analysis is very interesting. The country from which they migrated is one category. So most Sri Lankans and Indians identify themselves as Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils. There are two Tamils who have migrated to the UK from Singapore and Malaysia. The Singaporean originally comes from Mysore, in Karnataka, India, which is a Kannada speaking area and which in fact was the mother tongue of his great grand father. But having been born in Singapore, a setting where there is no opportunity or reinforcement to use Kannada, his parents eventually lost Kannada and have adopted Tamil as their mother tongue. This individual is married, has two children and sends his children to learn Tamil at the West London Tamil School. The individual from Malaysia, is originally a Tamil from Sri Lanka. She was in Malaysia and identifies herself as a Malay Tamil. There are undercurrents of differentiation among the Tamils in London who originate from different South Asian Geographical settings. Further research into this aspect of social identity will prove interesting and useful in understanding the dynamics of social identity.

One aspect of social identity is the study of traditional festive celebrations or the performance of ritual ceremonies. The question asked was whether they celebrate and perform traditional Tamil cultural events. And having migrated to the UK are there tendencies of acculturation, that is, do they celebrate or perform British cultural events?

The Hindus, both Indian and Sri Lankan, celebrate and perform events such as Pongal, New Year, Shivaratri, Saraswathi puja, Deepavali, fasting, weddings, 31st day of childbirth, house warming, punya vaachanam, kantha sashti, Gowri Viratham, and all such Tamil events. There are members in the community who set up the Christmas tree and celebrate Christmas, just because of their children.

The Christians, of course, both Sri Lankan and Indian, celebrate and perform Christian events. Some of the Indian Christians, also celebrate, Pongal, for example. And here one could refer to LePage (1985). In *Acts of Identity*, he views these kinds of people as being in a state of flux, not yet prepared to shed certain ingrained features of traditional identity.

Kinship

Kinship terms are concepts in a cultural system. They belong to the core sub-set of terms, study of which provide insight into family relations and extended family relations. The three dimensionality of kinship terms in the South Asian languages relate the limited ego with the social ego. For example, the term for 'mother's brother' is 'ma:mma' and the term for 'mother's brother's son' is 'ma:mma mage'. And the term for 'father's sister's

son', is 'atte mage'. These terms establish relationship with 'mother' -- 'mother's brother' -- 'mother's brother's son' or 'father' -- 'father's sister' -- 'father's sister's son', thus establishing a relationship with the peer group going through a generation above. Their substitution by a generic English term like 'cousin' not only neutralises this perception but creates a strain in the system. This is true of terms like 'uncle' and 'aunty'.

'Terms of address stand in the interstice between Semantics and Pragmatics, since their meaning is in part about the socio-cultural world and in part in their connection to the social situation in which they occur', says Susan Bean in the introduction to 'Symbolic and Pragmatic Semantics', 1978. Although no effort has been made here to discuss the symbolic or indexical meanings of these terms, the terms of address has been taken for studying the degree of borrowing, as a result of contact with other ethnic groups, more specifically, the borrowing of terms from English. Haarmann (1986) is of the view that 'Kinship terms are not isolated in the vocabulary of any language, ... Designations of kinship relations play a key-role in the framework of social relations or social contacts, and these relations, in ecological terms, are the main channels through which acculturation is transferred'. Study of such borrowings will indicate processes of diffusion within the structure of the Tamil system. Thus leading to processes of acculturation. Pattanayak in his study of Parenga Kinship terms has shown that borrowing a term from a culture where over differentiation or under differentiation of relationships are made, imposes re-interpretation of role relations. In this case, what subtle changes in behaviour take place as a result of borrowing of terms are yet to be seen.

The sixteen terms of address from Wimbledon and Harrow were seen from the perspective of 'male' and 'female'. There is not much of a difference between the two. However, one of the most disturbing factors is that among the women there are some cases of 'Mummy', 'Daddy', 'Uncle' and 'Aunty' being used. Since women are the transmitters of culture in the family, this trend might lead to the unsettling of the system.

It is interesting to note that a comparison of the Indian and Sri Lankan terms reveals differences which might go to a stage earlier than the Tamil-Malayalam split. For example, for 'grand father' and 'grandmother' although '*pāṭṭa*' and '*pāṭṭi*' are used by both Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils, the Sri Lankan Tamils, in addition, use 'ammumma' and 'appuppa' which are used in Malayalam.

Conclusion

In the Introduction to Sociolinguistics, William Bright (1966) speaks of 'differences in speech habits within a speech community'. It was generally referred to 'free variation' and was not taken too seriously in studies of

linguistic description. He therefore emphasised that 'one of the major tasks of socio- linguistics is to show that such variation or diversity is not in fact 'free', but is correlated with systematic social differences. 'In this and in still larger ways, linguistic DIVERSITY is precisely the subject matter of Sociolinguistics'. In situations where 'free variation' takes place in bi/multi lingual situations, such as the Tamils in London, what happens? Discussing such situations, Le Page (1973) raises the concept of 'interference' in a bilingual home where two linguistic systems operate and 'the child grows up in a bilingual setting in which the usage of each parent is related to a fairly well entrenched norm of behaviour'. If one looks at 'free variation' in terms of Bright (1966) and 'interference' in terms of Le Page (1973) as a frame of reference and juxtapose it with a linguistic minority of Asian origin, such as the Tamils, the system of speech patterns will be similar, in that, two languages are involved, but different, because parents belong to a single language and the socializing process of the child is in two languages. That is, the language of the home, Tamil, a language of social identity, and the language of schools, English, the language of power, in terms of education and profession.

In a situation where each parent speaks a language different from the other, and are therefore bilingual, according to Le Page, the child grows up bilingual - 'creating for himself two discrete systems', which govern his behaviour in two discrete domains. In the case of the Tamil child, two discrete systems, Tamil and English, are meant to be maintained, but what generally happens is that 'interference' takes place, where Tamil seems to interfere in the learning of English and English interferes in the learning of Tamil. In an effort to hasten and help the child learn the English language, English is generally encouraged to be used by the child. So much so, on the basis of observations of language use with children, in Tamil homes in Harrow, Wimbledon and Eastham, reinforced by data from the questionnaire of use of language of parents with children, there is a clear demarcation in the use of Tamil and English. For example, English and Tamil are generally used in day to day interaction, but their domains are differentiated. English is used for

- a. Activities at school: homework, messages to and from the teacher, etc.
- b. Advice on norms of behaviour.
- c. Queries posed by the child on issues relating to TV programmes; while driving: issues relating to road signs, light indicators on vehicles and road crossings, etc.
- d. English is used to teach Tamil in Tamil schools. This is a very important domain, where it is expected that the use of Tamil will take over.

Tamil is mainly used for

- a. Address terms: 'amma' - 'mother'; 'appa' - 'father'; 'annai' - 'elder brother'; 'akka' - 'elder sister'; 'ammumma' - 'grandma'; 'appuppa' - 'grandpa'.
- b. In the expression of emotions such as love, affection, anger, distaste, displeasure, etc.
- c. Food items: 'cho:ru' - 'cooked rice'; 'pa:l' - 'milk'; 'thāṇi' - 'water'; 'pārappu' - 'cooked dal'.
- d. General: 'illai' - 'no'; 'ko:yil' - 'temple'; 'cha:mmi' - 'God'.

If, at this stage, one brings in the concept of dominance configuration and roles of dominating languages, (Weinreich, 1966) English, the language of power, status and wealth, dominates the various domains of language use. The functional role of Tamil is considerably reduced in Britain. To return to the question of 'interference', several questions come to mind, especially in the context of the present move by the adults in the Tamil community to teach Tamil language, music and dance to the children of the community:

1. Does the socio-cultural environment motivate the child to learn Tamil?
2. Does the method to teach Tamil language, music and dance through English, rather than teach it through Tamil, help the child to learn Tamil language, music and dance, and thus aim at preserving a separate emotional and cultural identity?
3. The functional use of English and Tamil are at two extreme points of a scale. How do members of the community intend to lessen this gap?
4. English functions as a high status language, whereas Tamil functions as a low status language. Back home, Tamil functions as a high status language. English, for the elite, also functions as a high status language. However, with movements to assert the greater use of Tamil in education, administration and mass communication, the role of English as a high status language is sliding down. How does the community, caught in a sociolinguistic whirlwind, face realities of two demanding prescriptive norms? What is meant here, is that the role of Tamil as a high status language is reduced to a low status language in England, for obvious reasons. How is this notion perceived? Moreover, this is all the more relevant, as the ultimate aim of the Tamils in Britain is upward mobility in terms of education and economic status, through the high power English language, at the expense of relegating Tamil to low power, educationally and professionally, but retaining Tamil culture as their social and emotional strength.

Extensive research on the nature of language maintenance or shift, in relation to language as tokens of identity, group solidarity and active asser-

tion of cultural identity has been carried out on linguistic minorities across the world. The general trend is that although, due to various socio-economic factors, language shift takes place, language loyalty and group solidarity are apparent tokens of group identity. India is different. India is characterized as a multilingual, multicultural society where unity in diversity is the national value that ties the majority, minority and minor groups as Indians. And at the same time, language, religion and ethnicity are threads of the web, that keep groups apart. Sociolinguistic studies carried out on linguistic minorities in India indicate stable bi/multilingualism. As Pandit put it maintenance is the norm, shift an exception. Pandit (1972) observed that 'The underlying acceptability of any Indian in any Indian cultural setting is symptomatic of a cultural identity and homogeneity at a deeper level; it permits retention of identity markers - whether it is language or religion, food habits or dress habits. Continuous language contact in multilingual communities results in a set of rules shared by diverse languages, at the same time retaining identity markers, namely at morphophonemic and lexical levels'. In the British context, discussing the case of Gaelic Scotland, Kenneth Meckennon (1984) comes to a very interesting conclusion on the status of the Gaelic speech community. 'Within the social world of its own language of community social solidarity it can conserve a distinctive local culture: a 'Little Tradition' in Hansen's and Fishman's terms (Hansen, 1952; Fishman, 1965; Nahirny and Fishman, 1965) yet at the same time have access to a world language of wider communication within which the more alienative aspects of mass society can be handled'. This phenomenon can be extended to the sociolinguistic status of other linguistic minorities, both European (Swiss, German) as well as the non-European of East African, East Asian and South Asian origin. Ramakant Agnihotri's work on the Sikhs in England, comes to a similar conclusion, where the Sikhs are 'extremely proud of its social, cultural, historical and religious heritage' and 'create new patterns of behaviours in the face of the very powerful pressure from the host society'. In fact for most linguistic minorities, stable bilingualism, that is the combination of linguistic repertoires in mother tongue and English are important because of its functional use in strategic domains. One, to operate in the race for upward mobility in the field of education and professional career and the other to operate as a link between Britain and the home of origin. The ongoing move by different linguistic minorities, in running their respective language schools, with the active support of the British Government, is the realisation that a generation or two actually lost the thread of continuity of their respective sociolinguistic traditions. The verve with which the schools are operating, it is possible to predict that linguistic minorities in Britain will retain and reinforce their biculturalism by becoming eventually stable bilinguals.

The ecological environment of the Tamil children in Britain determines their motivation to learn Tamil. Their 'Acts of identity' (LePage, 1972) to which they are tied to, create networks of communication and these networks determine the choice of language. If the home environment promotes the use of Tamil, this will promote the development of the learning

of Tamil. If the home environment promotes the use of English this will impede the development of learning of Tamil. Thus if the competence in Tamil is to rise, Tamil needs to be habitualised at home, with less interference from English.

While discussing with members of the community strategies and patterns in the maintenance of ethnic identity through language, music and dance, what comes to mind is what they think they ought to do. This comes up particularly, in the context of a generation of members in the age group of 15 plus, schooled and socialised in British values, who see no value for acquiring and learning Tamil language. What most say they do - that the Tamil language is the dominant language used at home, that traditional Tamil norms and values of behaviour are inculcated and that they do not generally encourage mixed marriages. And what they actually do is somewhat different. This is in direct relation to that one ought to do what one does.

The Tamil children born in Britain are caught between two demanding and yet different cultural traditions. At home, parents feel that they are deprived of a true Tamil socialising process. And at school, the children are socialised in a dominant western schooling model as well as western values. In the process they are neither a 'Tamil' nor a 'British' social being. By talking to Tamils, visiting homes and schools, what emerges is a definite and guarded approach among the Tamils in Britain in reviving the conservative element of traditionality that exists among the Tamils at home. The 'push-pull' factor which is basically seen in terms of economic necessity and opportunity, needs to be extended to the socio-cultural milieu. The Tamils in Britain are socialised through the 'push-pull' factors. This is especially true of children attending Tamil schools, where they learn Tamil language and traditional Indian dance, drama and music. And at the same time, some of these children learn to play the piano and participate in school plays and dramas. Learning music on the violin can be seen as a symbiosis of western and eastern music which synthesises the underlying core value of the two cultures. Parents have said that they encourage children to dress in their traditional dress when they go to a temple, Tamil school or a music or dance concert. At the same time, when they socialise with their English peer group they are allowed to dress the English way. Depending on the environment at home and at school the young Tamils can grow up either as 'split personalities' or 'integrated personalities'. The nuclear family, the broken home, the rat race for money and comforts, has resulted in transformations in the white society which has played havoc for the young. Emulation of the same would put the blacks and browns in positions where they would be forced to send their aged to senior citizen homes and their frustrations would push them to levels of depression unparalleled in their cultural history. Any thinking of the minority must therefore be in conjunction with the majority and not as distinct from the majority. Both majorities and minorities form a nation. Weakness of a segment is weakness of a whole nation. Unless the majority attitude is changed so that they begin to respect the different the country would pass through phases of confrontation.

In the context of the 24 Tamil schools run by the Tamils in England with the active support of the British education system, the concept of standard, range and degree of the Tamil language comes to mind. That is the Tamil language in England consists of linguistic repertoires from different social and regional settings. Sri Lankan Tamil and its variants and Indian Tamil and its variants. The question that arises is what is the standard taught in these schools? Discussion with people concerned with these schools indicate that Textbooks used in these schools differ. In the schools run by the Sri Lankan Tamils, textbooks come from India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Singapore. The text books used in schools run by Indian Tamils are from India. No indepth analysis has been done on the methods and the approaches introduced through these books. Observations of classroom situations show that different varieties of Tamil are taught in these schools. For example, in a school run by Sri Lankan Tamils, the Sri Lankan variety of Tamil is taught. And in a Tamil school run by Indian Tamils, the Indian variety is taught. For example:

A Sri Lankan Tamil school teaches 'katharai' 'for 'chair'

An Indian Tamil school teaches 'na:rkali' for 'chair'

(Malayalam - 'kasarai' - 'chair')

SLT school: 'yengadai school' - 'our school'

ITS school 'yenga school' - our school'

Discussing speech communities and 'linguistic range' (Gumperz 1968) suggests that the structure of the verbal repertoire is affected by the social structure of the community. And 'when social change causes the breakdown of traditional social structure and the formation of new ties, as in urbanization, linguistic barriers between varieties break down. Rapidly changing societies most typically show either gradual transitions between speech styles, or if the community is bilingual, a range of intermediate varieties bridging the transitions between extremes'. The Tamil schools in England are paving ways for two varieties of Tamil. That is, Indian Tamil and Sri Lankan Tamil. Caste or social dialects that exist in India and Sri Lanka will probably fade out to evolve into these two distinct varieties.

From observations in the Tamil classroom it is possible to hypothesize that Tamil children in England Anglicise the Tamil language. This is especially true of children born in Britain and in the age group of 6 plus. There is perceived aspiration of initial /p/ /t/ /k/. The vowels and intonation patterns are Anglicised. These are the children who have not had an opportunity so far to stay in Sri Lanka or India where only Tamil is used. Discussing Indian English, scholars have observed that English is reinterpreted in terms of the mother tongue of the speakers, i.e., the English spoken by a Bengali, Malayali or Punjabi speaker is bound to be coloured by their mother tongue. An analogy can be drawn by stating that children born in Britain in the age group

of 6-12 years, reinterpret the Tamil language in terms of the English phonological and grammatical system.

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**STATUS OF ASPIRATED SOUNDS AND DIRECTION OF
EVOLUTION IN THE RECONSTRUCTIONS OF TELUGU
SOUND SYSTEM**

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This paper deals with the status of aspirated sounds in language and particularly, in Telugu¹. It analyses diachronic and synchronic aspects of typological changes in the sound sub-system of Telugu, showing that these changes are interlinked with each other and, moreover, they have occurred not accidentally, but are determined by the gradual replacement of morphological type of the language system as a whole, and, of course, the sound sub-system in particular. As a proof of it, contrastive study of sound sub-systems of Turkic (as a classical agglutinative language), Telugu and Russian (in which inflectional morphological technique has been noticed to dominate during the last thousand years) has been done.

Proceeding from the assumption, that so as to understand the peculiarities of sound system of any language, it is necessary to take into account the typological affinity of that particular language. Telugu, as any other Dravidian language, contemporary and old, belongs to the morphological class of agglutinative type. Also recall, that languages, such as Semitic or Bantu, inclusion of which in the list of agglutinative type in contrast to Dravidian languages, is generally accompanied by various reservations for certain of their peculiarities of agglutinateness. Dravidian languages are sufficiently, typically agglutinative, even though vivid descriptions of this morphological class one said to be represented by Turkic languages covered by the term "Uralo-Altaic". The proposal of morphological nearness between

1. This paper is viewed from the angle of systemic or systemic-determinative typology of languages. This new dimension in linguistics is based on the general "Philosophic" linguistic theory of W.F. Humboldt, A.A. Potebnin, I.I. Srejnevsky, I.A. Boudouin de Courtenay and being developed by G.P. Melnikov and his students in the department of General Linguistics at People's Friendship university named after Patrice Lumumba in Moscow (U.S.S.R.).

Dravidian and Uralo-Altaic languages is well known as nastractic theory (Ilich-Svet'ch, 1971).

If to start with general notion about the systems of agglutinative languages, in Dravidian Languages one can find number of such traits, which must be treated as signs of more striking manifestation of agglutinative morphology. For instance, while mentioning about the peculiarities of agglutinative word, it has been usually stressed the capability of the root not exhibit drastic changes when a chain affixes follow it. Looking into the history of Dravidian languages, comparing the written records of different periods of its hoistorical development from the point of capability of root to mount upon by agglutinative affixes, we find a tendency towards stability in the increase of the length of chain of affixes. This fact becomes basis to arrive at the conclusion about the strengthening of agglutinative morphology.

Evidence to this extent can be shown from the typically agglutinative languages such as Turkic and Telugu with developed vowel harmony. In the reconstructed Dravidian, vowel harmony was not found, however, it has emerged and developed in contemporary Dravidian languages. Vowel harmony is peculiar in verb stems of contemporary Telugu. Consequently this fact can also be interpreted as a manifestation of the tendency towards strengthening of agglutination.

However, these illustrations are far from to be convinced. At least, they demand "concrete verification" through certain parameters of the sound system of Dravidian Languages, particularly Telugu. In this connection let us study an individual problem from the area of Telugu sound system and also observe, whether the results are confining the conclusion about the strengthening role of agglutination taking from historical times or vice versa.

First of all let us draw a table of binary classification of Telugu consonants* (Prabhakar Rao, 1989a).

* Detailed phonetic explanation for the classification of Telugu consonants into six binary oppositions (except for the feature: hard-non-hard) has been given in the mentioned work.

Mode of formation		Place of formation							
		Non-retroflexive(r)				Retroflexive(R)			
		Marginal (M)		Central (m) (Non-marginal)		Marginal (M)		Central (m) (Non-marginal)	
		Front (F)	Back (f) (non-front)	Front (F)	Back (f) (non-front)	Front (F)	Back (f) (non-front)	Front (F)	Back (f) (non-front)
Voiceless: (v) :	Non-hard (h)	p	k	t	c	-	-	-	ʈ
	Hard(H)	ph	kh	th	ch	-	-	-	ʈʰ
	Non-hard	b	g	d	j	-	-	-	ɖ
Voiced(V):	(h)								
	Hard (H)	bh	gh	dh	jh	-	-	-	ɖʱ
Voiceless :	Non-hard (h)	(f)	h	s	ʃ	-	-	-	s
	Hard (H)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Non-hard	m	ṁ	ṅ	ɳ	-	-	-	ṇ
Voiced(V):	(h)								
	Hard (H)	w	vy	r	l	-	-	-	ɭ

Table - 1 : Binary classification of Telugu consonants.

In this binary table aspirated consonants are interpreted as hard sounds. However certain objections can be raised against such classification, for instance, phonetic analysis of consonants of different languages has allowed to establish, that aspirated consonantal sounds are pronounced with lesser force/tension (Zinder, 1960: 123-124): at the same time there are languages, where aspirated sounds are more strained/tensioned. This discord in the articulation of aspirated sound can be explained only by taking into account the direction of development of sound system of studying language.

If the sound system of language is evolving in the direction of increase of functional load on vowels and loss of functional load on consonants, then frequency and even composition of sonorents will increase, for instance, sibilents and some times even stops will convert into sonorents. In this case phoneme -s- or even -d- will transform into trill -r-. Except this, increase of composition of sonorents can also be manifested in arising of two varieties of consonants -l- or -r-. In such case, voiceless stop will become voiced or even convert into non-stop as per the following scheme: t→d→ɖ. Such events are popularly known from the history of Spanish and Malesian Polenesic languages.

It is vivid from the above scheme, that in the process of weakening of consonantity in the original stops, aspiration seems to be the first phase of converting stop into non-stop; articulative contact breaks even before the ending of etymologically stop consonant and this can be observed, for instance, in the pronunciation of -dh- in the place -d-. Obviously, such aspiration, arising through vowelisation and sonorisation of sound system is related to the process of weakening of articulation of consonant, and consequently, to the process of strengthening of role of vocalism at the cost of consonantism.

In the opposite direction of evolution of the sound system of language strengthens process of transformation of consonants from the zone of sonorents into the zone of sibilents and even of stops. Naturally, if in a language there are two types of trills or laterals, then they will amalgamate into one, for instance trill can start pronouncing as -d- type or even -s- type of consonant. In such case, composition of consonants will increase and strengthen their functional load.

Another factor for the development of consonants in the sound system of language is the demand for growing contrast between consonants and vowels. Then sonorents, as intermediate sounds between consonants and vowels, become unuseful to the sound system, but in the sub-system of consonants by all means will increase minimum number of sonorents, i.e., will increase the role of stops and voiceless sounds as it happened in the process of formation of Chinese language (Melnikov, 1971, 1977, 1982).

In such stream of linguistic reconstructions, etymologically voiced consonants, falling into the zone of voiceless, will start contrasting to etymologically voiceless as less strained, and then etymologically voiceless consonants by strengthening that contrast will be pronounced as more strained consonants, becoming, at last, aspirated sounds, contrasted to etymologically voiced as unaspirated sounds. Consequently even in such languages aspiration behaves simultaneously as strained.²

It is a well recognized fact, that particularly in vocalic and consonantal and generally in the morphological system of Telugu, there is no evidence of motion of the language towards isolated type. Consequently, the process of increase of contrast between vowels and consonants should not be

². Cause for strengthening or weakening of consonantity in language can even be local, connected only with definite position of phoneme in a word-form. But even in those cases functional analysis of sound units in a concrete position will allow to define, whether the aspiration is connected with increasing or decreasing of utterance of consonants.

connected with either the arising of aspiration in local sub-systems of Telugu (including in the sub-system or numbers) or the ability of the language to hold articulation of sounds in borrowed words during thousands of years. It means, that the tendency here can be a general displacement of sound system either in the direction of sonorisation or -consonantisation.

Let us now define, what is the direction of the reconstructions of Telugu sound system. It is a well established fact, that in Proto-Dravidian Phonological consonantal system, there are two lateral sonorants, i.e. l- type (-l- and -l-) and two trills i.e. r- type (-r- and (- r -)) (Krishnamurti, 1961). However in contemporary Telugu many consonants from the etymological oppositions, which are based on these types of sonorants, either have lost or have stopped differentiating in colloquial language, remaining sometimes only in orthography (for instance, *Karra* - *Karra* "stick"; *gurramu* - *gurramu* "horse" etc. Except this, in Telugu there have been fixed processes of consonantisation of sonorants by scheme $*z > d > d$, for instance, $*az\ nk > z\ ank > d\ ā\ gu > d\ ā\ gu$ 'to be hidden' (Krishnamurti 1961:).

All the above facts should be considered as a manifestation of the process of increase of the role of consonants and correspondingly decrease of the level of sonority in the studying language, i.e. Telugu.

The ariseness of long consonants can naturally be explained as a reconstruction of language in the direction of increase of composition of consonants which is resulted by the increase of functional load on consonants.

Amalgamations of root morphemes with grammatical, later substitution of sounds, and at last, arising of phonological opposition of consonants as voiced-voiceless, unknown to Proto-Dravidian shall also be connected with the enrichness of composition of consonants and treated as increase of functional load on consonantal sub-system of Telugu.

As far as such views do not contradict the facts, we ought to agree, that the utterance of aspirated sounds in Telugu, eventhough they are represented mostly in borrowed words, must have connection with more strained articulation than the utterance of corresponding unaspirated. These ideas have given basis to place aspirated consonants in the previously suggested binary table in the class of hard (strained) consonants. And, of course, such theoretical conclusion needs experimental verification.

So as to define the status of aspirated Telugu consonants, it was sufficient to us to establish, that consonantal sub-system of the language has long ago started changing in the direction of strengthening of composition and role of consonants. However it can be treated as an individual tendency

in the sub-system of the language. But it is desirable from systemic - typological angle to come to the level of exposing "tendencies in tendencies itself", i.e., to the level, that can define the direction of grammatical system of language as an integrated system. Then the question arises, whether the role of agglutination in Dravidian languages is increasing or falling down: if it is decreasing, then which morphological type is replacing (or going to replace) the existing one.

In this connection let us recall, that in Proto-Dravidian have been reconstructed 16 consonantal phonemes: *p, *t, *t̪, *t̪̥, *c, *k, *m, *n, *n̥, *ñ, *y, *r, *l, *v, *r̥, *l̥. It should be mentioned here, that among Uralo - Altaic group of languages only Turkic languages could during thousands of years preserve the original system of consonants (Konanov, 1956), whereas Dravidian languages, particularly Telugu, in the process of its evolution has considerably increased the number of consonants. If we do not take into account the borrowed sounds (from Sanskrit and other languages), then the number of consonants will be 19, and with borrowed -35 consonants. This fact has given us basis to arrive at the conclusion, that Dravidian, particularly Telugu sound system has become less resemble to that of Turkic and consequently, agglutinative features in it are definitely getting weakened. If to look at now not only the peculiarities of composition, but also positional characteristics of consonants in Proto-Dravidian and in contemporary Dravidian languages, for instance, in Telugu, we will once again find more similarities with classical agglutinative features in Proto-Dravidian and gradual loss of those similarities in contemporary languages. Thus, nature of agglutinative word-form is specialization of consonants by their position in word-form: increase of role of voiceless stops in the initial position of root, increase of utterance of sonorants and nasals in the ending of word-form, possibility of initial vowel in root and etc. (Zybкова, 1977: 3-12).

Particularly such characteristics of word -form are peculiar to the Proto-Dravidian system. But it is well recognized, that in Telugu (as in some of the other Dravidian languages) as a result of historical changes (reconstructions) vocalic initials of-root have started disappearing and also "shaking" some class of sounds (for instance, retroflex sounds) depending on the position in the word-form and has occurred process of phonolization of previously non-phonological oppositions. That is why, by comparing the consonantal system of contemporary Telugu with agglutinative Turkic and inflectional Russian, it is easy to be convinced, that Telugu has not only strengthened the composition of consonants, but in some extent, has deviated from the parameters of Turkic system and started from historical times itself moving towards Russian.

The restructuring of morpheme and word-form in Telugu according to the rules of open syllable has analogue in Slavic languages, and consequently, it is another irrefutable evidence for the displacement of Telugu sound sub-system (and also language system) in the direction of inflectional morphological type.

If the above version of evolution of sound sub-system of Telugu is correct, it is necessary to make conclusion, that the occurring in it changes, as in the case of Indo-European system, particularly in its Slavic branches, should be connected with the strengthening of ability of sound units to forecast/to predict in speech stream the characteristics of forthcoming/units by previous ones. This principle of "forecasting/prediction" of sound units in the speech stream, which helps to differentiate inflectional languages from agglutinative in which do exist principle of "remindness" of sound units in the speech stream, was firstly formulated and proved by Boudouin de Courtenay.

Sandhi in Dravidian languages including Telugu has functional parallels with the loss of syllability in Slavic word-forms. Last vowel in Telugu disappears at the juncture of morpheme just as acoustically disappear last Russian vowels - b - and -6-. After disappearing last vowel in sandhi, if there is a voiced sound in first morpheme and voiceless initially in second morpheme, then voiceless becomes voiced as, for instance consonant of prefix under the influence of consonant of root in Russian. In some cases, when there is a necessity to stress morphemic nature of initial word, the last vowel of that word would disappear in sandhi, but at the juncture of two words arises consonantal epenthesis. In this case also Telugu can find analogical forms in Russian, where there is epenthesis -j- and -v- at the junctures vocalic morphemes. For instance, verbal root da- :da - (j) - e - t: da - (v) - a - t' "to give" (Melnikov,1986).

The above facts about the sound systems of Telugu and Russian insist us to recognize, that Dravidian languages in general and Telugu in particular is evolving in the path of gradual loss of agglutinative features by slowly acquiring the features of inflectional type. And it should be underlined that the process of acquisition of inflectional features may be at initial stage. The same conclusion can be drawn by comparing the other levels (morphological, Syntactical etc.) of the languages, which do not come under the aim of this paper.

There are also existing external factors, that necessitate language to choose and to form particular morphological type and to transform from one type into another in the process of its historical evolution. Such transformation has been particularly taken place in the areal influence of Aryan and Dravidian languages (Prabhakar Rao, 1989b).

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SPATIAL AND TOPOLOGICO DYNAMIC CONCEPTIONS OF THE GRAMMATICAL CASE

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1. Spatial conception of the cases

A significant part of Hjelmslev's '*La catégorie des cas*' (1935) is devoted to a detailed historical account of the approaches to a theory of the case with a view to identifying a 'constant system' and the 'structural principle' underlying this category. Since there is no language where the case system does not play a role, according to Hjelmslev it is necessary that grammatical study should begin with an analysis of the case. Now, the first problem in approaching the case is to decide whether the case is associated with the noun or with the verb. Even on this basic question there has been no unanimity of views, to this day. In ancient Greece, the Stoics regarded the noun (onoma) as a category susceptible to case and the verb(rhema), a category not susceptible to case.

In their attempt to identify the 'constant system' that underlies the varied manifestations of an apparently single category, the Byzantines, Maxime Planude and Theodore Gaza established the localist theory of the case. (see also Anderson 1973 for a discussion on Maxime Planude) Theodore Gaza saw case-relations in terms of spatial movements, viz., the accusative as denoting the subject directing its activity towards the object, and genitive denoting the subject receiving or absorbing an object. In the antiquity there were other theories of the case too, such as the 'karaka' theory of the Indian grammarians, which defined the case in terms of causality or action. These two theories in fact even today compete and coexist in their diverse ramifications.

One of the innovations proposed in the study of the case at the beginning of the modern times is the combining of the categories of the case and prepositions into a common semantic category. Bernhardi (1805), for instance, conceived case-morpheme as a 'condensed preposition'. Another important development is G.M. Roth's (1815) characterisation of the case as a category signifying 'relation'. Roth explicitly founded his notion of relation on the Kantian category of relation. For him the case indicated a

subsistent relation as opposed to the gender which indicated an inherent relation. The view that case expresses 'relation' seems to have prevailed for a long time during the 19th century, with or without the support of the Kantian philosophy. One of the proposals during this period was to regard the accusative as representing immediate transition from the subject to the object, and the dative as representing an indirect transition, through the intermediary of a direct object. Attempts were also made during this epoch to link the linguistic categories and the basic epistemological categories. It was felt that the concepts at the depth of the language are in principle of the same nature as the concepts of logical analysis.

It was during the same period (of the early Indo-European) that F. Bopp emerged as the first localist of the modern times. Bopp (1826?) links up the 'the primitive expressions of spatial order' with expressions of time and causality which were considered as attributes of more complex thought. *Willner* who was Bopp's student, directly transposed some of the basic tenets of Kantian philosophy into the domain of linguistics. Accordingly, he set up three principles of linguistic analysis. These were: 1. that of subjectivity, by which he meant that the phenomena denoted by the linguistic sign was not of objective, but of subjective order; that the speaking subject chooses the grammatical forms not according to the requirements of an objective or real state of things, but according to a principle imposed by the idea or conception (thinking) with which he regards the objective fact; 2. that of fundamental signification: the requirement of identifying a 'fundamental signification' of a degree of abstraction sufficient to allow the deduction of all the concrete uses of the form; 3. that linguistic method should be empirical and non-aprioristic. (Hjelmslev, 1935:37). In proposing the above principles, *Willner* was guided by the Kantian imperative of rendering to a spatio-temporal conception all intellectual operations concerning the facts observed in the objective world.

Around the same epoch, Michelsen (1843) proposed a theory of the case based on the notion of causality, which Hjelmslev regards as an important assertion of 'anti-localism'. Hjelmslev rejects the theory on the ground that it ignores the fact that causality is only a particular case of the general idea of relation which is basically of spatial conception. Besides, ".....causality constitutes a concept less general than the abstract idea of direction, movement and relation invoked by localists". (ibid, p. 47)

In the later phase of the Indo-European which is characterised by an insistence on the autonomy of language on matters of explication, Th. Rumpel (1866) came up to establish a syntactic theory of the case which has strong adherents to this day. Rumpel's theory proceeds from the traditional (Aristotlean) concept of the sentence, and the case is to be defined in terms of grammatical relations involving notions like the subject, object, indirect

object, predicate etc. Hjelmslev thinks that the Rumpelian syntactic theory of the case originates from false epistemological presumptions. Aristotlean logical categories such as subject, object etc. can not be introduced into language since the linguistic categories do not preexist language, and the categorial form of language can only be revealed by an immanent linguistic analysis. The logical categories of subject, object etc., which are related to the notion of judgement, according to Hjelmslev are not immanent or empirically present as far as linguistic analysis is concerned. Insisting on the requirement of excluding the notion of judgement and its linguistic manifestation, the sentence, Hjelmslev goes on to argue that 'the sentence is not a grammatical unit'. He cites Saussure (1916:178) to assert that the sentence is a unit of the 'parole', and not of 'langue'. For Hjelmslev, the unit that is grammatically real is the 'syntagm' (ibid, p. 50-51). (With much irony, Hjelmslev notes that during Rumpel's time, as regards the case theory, one was either a Rumpelian, or a rebel. (ibid, p.55)

The case theory that comes up in the late 19th century, i.e., is referred to by Hjelmslev as the demi-localist theory. Here there is acceptance of case as signifying relation with a double face: a local and a non-local. This is expressed by Holzweissig (1877) while showing the copresence of the 'cas topiques' and 'cas logiques'. 'Demi-localism' is more pronounced in the works of the later Indo - Europeanists who embrace both the syntactic and the local cases, while fully acknowledging their separate sources. As Hjelmslev puts it: conforming to Rumpel's definitions, nominative, accusative and genitive are conceived as "grammatical cases", and conforming to the localist theory, but at the same time emphasizing more on the concrete and material side of signification, ablative, locative, dative and instrumental are conceived as local cases (ibid, p.57). Thus the demi-localism marked, according to Hjelmslev, a return to the spatial conception which was a point of departure for the localists. Ironically, though this theory originated in opposition to the localist theory, it carries the imprint of the latter. (ibid, p.60)

Wundt (1912) was one of the first to integrate concrete/local relations and the abstract/grammatical relations under the common term of the case. He also discovered that the relations expressed by case morphemes or the zero-morpheme in some languages can be equally expressed by word-order in other languages.

From his historical survey, Hjelmslev goes on to make a structural delimitation of the case-category. Since there are cases or case-like elements in all languages, we can easily identify case as a linguistic subsystem having a definite range of significations, or rather based on a 'fundamental signification' manifesting differently in different languages. However, it is futile to look for the occurrence of the same cases in all languages. "Il n'y a pas de cas universels. C'est la categorie qui est universelle; ses manifestations concretes ne le sont pas". (ibid, p. 70).

In the place of Kantian notion of function, Hjelmslev introduces the notion of "valeur exprimée". A grammatical category, in Hjelmslev's view is to be defined by value not by the expression. "A linguistic form is an expressed value; The relations that we are talking about, are thus, in all languages, the expressed values". (ibid,p. 77)

At this juncture, we shall draw up the parallelism between Kantian theory of representation of knowledge and Hjelmslev's own theory of grammatical representation. We shall see by means of the following table how Hjelmslev is attempting to transpose certain basic Kantian concepts into linguistic notions:

<u>Kant</u>	<u>Hjelmslev</u>
Architectonic	System
Knowing subject	Speaking subject
Empirical finality	Empirical procedure; immanence
Aesthetic	Prelogic
Function	Expressed value
Category/Conceptual unity	Fundamental signification

Hjelmslev notes that the relationship between the form of a category on terms of its expressed value and its individual manifestations can be viewed in two different ways. For Bernhardt, for instance, the prepositions and the cases denoted the same relations. While for Pott, there exists an intrinsic (diachronic) relation between the system of cases and that of the prepositions. There is a double manifestation of the same category of values: as morphemes and as semantemes.

From *Wüllner's* principles and from Hjelmslev's own elaboration of them that it follows that 'grammar is the theory of fundamental significations or values and of systems constituted by them , and for resolving its problem it should proceed by an empirical method " (ibid,p. 84).

The actual definition of the case that Hjelmslev arrives at is a complex consisting of : 1. the concrete significations of its various manifestations, (directionality, dependence-independence between objects, etc.), 2. a notion abstracted from these diverse significations, i.e., the 'fundamental signification', and 3. the spatial conception.'The movement from (1) to (2) is necessary since 'the value is the minimal differential of significations' (ibid,p.86). Thus, 'case is a category that expresses the relation between two objects '(ibid,p.96).

The system of fundamental signification consists of 3 dimensions: 1. Direction (nearing--distancing): 2. a double conception of direction, i.e, independence-dependence; 3. subjectivity- objectivity.

In order to deal with the theoretical difficulties regarding the first of the above dimensions, Hjelmslev suggests that certain specific attributes of language has to be accounted for. Language, Hjelmslev observes, cannot be reduced to pure and simple principles of logic; the logico-mathematical type of opposition (e.g., positive and negative) are not the only type of opposition to be found in language. For instance, on the dimension of direction what we observe is not a relationship of opposition, i.e., presence of one feature implying the absence of the opposite. In the place of a logical system based on a law of opposition or of non-contradiction, languages are, according to Hjelmslev, guided by a prelogical system with its 'law of participation'. The opposition is not between one language having a feature A and another having the feature non-A, but it is of having A in and A plus non-A in the same language. Such a prelogical (non-oppositional; participational) character of language is exemplified by the fact that "the normal system of Latin as it is obtained in the traditional grammar is organised on the basis of the ablative, whereas the normal system of Greek is organised on the basis of the accusative" (ibid,p.102). Between the ablative with its feature of rapprochement, on the dimension of direction, there is no relation of opposition, but only two different orientations while the case with the supposedly opposite feature being present in one and the same language.

Hjelmslev observes that it is not surprising to find a prelogical system in natural language, especially in the light of LevyBruhl's demonstration of traces of 'prelogical mentality' (which was originally attributed to the 'primitive' mentality) in all languages. According to Levy-Bruhl the prelogical mentality is characterised by a community's collective representations involving the 'law of participation'. It is 'most often indifferent to contradiction' (Levy-Bruhl, 1922:88). Further, the prelogical mentality is 'essentially synthetic'. It is not a synthesis where there is a prior analysis into concepts, but where "the connecting links of the representations are given with the representations themselves". Here "the syntheses are always undecomposed and undecomposable". (Levy-Bruhl, 1925:108)

An important feature of the prelogical mentality is the strong sense of space and time. Thus, devoid of a logical unity of the object, for the prelogical mind, "the same object, in different circumstances may have different meanings" (ibid,p.117). Further, "the sequence in time is one element of the connection...."(ibid,p.74). Thus, here 'the memory is both very accurate and very emotional' (ibid,p.110). "This extraordinary development of memory, and of a memory which faithfully reproduces the minutest details of sense-impressions in the correct order of their appearance is shown more over by the wealth of vocabulary and the grammatical complexity of the languages". With people owed with a 'primitive mentality', the 'memory takes the place of operations which elsewhere depends upon a logical procedure' (ibid,p.115). These observations prompt us to define grammar,

atleast a large part of it, as the study of collective representations involving the law of participation. These representations ultimately have their bases in the apriori intuitions of space and time.

The central feature of the prelogical knowledge system is that of 'performed connections' (ibid,p.76). Levy-Bruhl: "... if connections are the chief consideration, we pronounce it prelogical. By prelogical we do not mean to assert that such a mentality constitutes an antecedent stage, in point of time, to the birth of logical thought. Have there ever existed groups of human beings or pre-human beings whose collective representations have not been subject to the laws of logic?" (ibid,p.78). The prelogical is neither antilogical nor alogical. The "logical" which is sensitive to the law of contradiction and the "prelogical" which obeys the law of participation always coexist. Hjelmslev is echoing Levy-Bruhl's view that the prelogical mentality is far from extinct, and that it coexists with the 'pensee logique' in modern societies, 'more or less independent, more or less subdued, but ineradicable' (Levy-Bruhl, 1936:243). This coexistence of two different mentalities is an inevitable fact, for:

"....la pensee logique ne saurait *être* l'heritiere universelle de la mentalite prelogique. Toujours se maintiendront les representations collectives qui expriment une participation intensement sentie et vecue, et dont it sera impossible de demontrer soit la contradiction logique, soit l'impossibilite physique".(ibid,p.241)

With reference to Levy-Bruhl's problematic, Rene Thom observes that "the distinction between science and magic does not lie in a prelogical mentality (a la Levy-Bruhl) on the one hand, nor in what many would hold as the efficacy of the science as opposed to the inefficacy of magic. It is to be found in the lot more restricting aspect of our representation of space which is not the case with the primitive" (Thom, 1988:46). Thus the modern science and the primitive magic differ only in the manner in which space is imagined. (Thom: 'deux modes de controle de l'imaginaire'.) Thom's formula is : Physics is a magic controlled by geometry. In contrast and yet, "the prescientific man has indeed an implicit knowledge of space-time. He can displace or move objects here or there with certain goals in mind, he can make instruments by mechanical action" (ibid,p. 46).

However, instead of wanting to maintain the relative autonomy of the 'prelogical' Hjelmslev's curious strategy towards the end of the theoretical part of his "La categorie des cas", is to forge what he calls a 'sublogical system' which will bring under a common principle both the prelogical system and the system of formal logic. This is for him the most suitable 'structural' solution.

The sublogical system which lies "at the base of both the logical system and the prelogical system" consists of representing the principal points in the

conceptual zone. The procedure is of identifying the fundamental signification in terms of positive and negative values, and zero when necessary, without entering all the possible nuances which can be borrowed from formal logic and without admitting all possible extensional configurations. (Hjelmslev, 1935:127)

The conceptual zone here, which incorporates the system of cases and prepositions is that of the correlation between two objects on a spatial plane. The dimensions of these relations are:

1. Direction: ('rapprochement' (nearing) 'eleignement' (distancing))
2. Coherence-noncoherence:
(Coherence is relation with contact and noncoherence is a relation without contact; the former is further divided into interiority and exteriority.)
3. Subjectivity-Objectivity: Here there are two axes: the vertical axis is that of objectivity (e.g., 'above' and 'below' relations are not dependent on the speaking subject's perspective); the horizontal axis is that of subjectivity (before and after are oriented to the perspective of the speaking subject).

We may indicate the first of the above dimensions as:

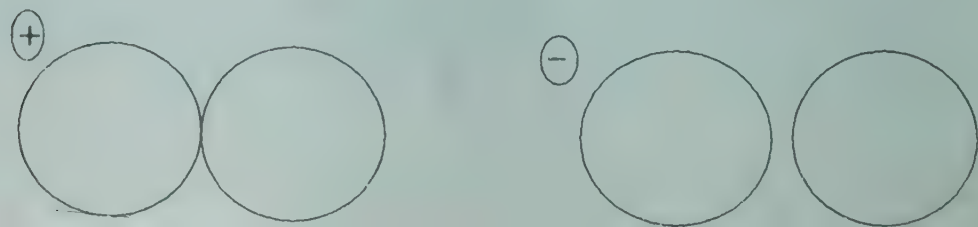
- 1.

The other dimensions are given as (ibid,p.129,131):

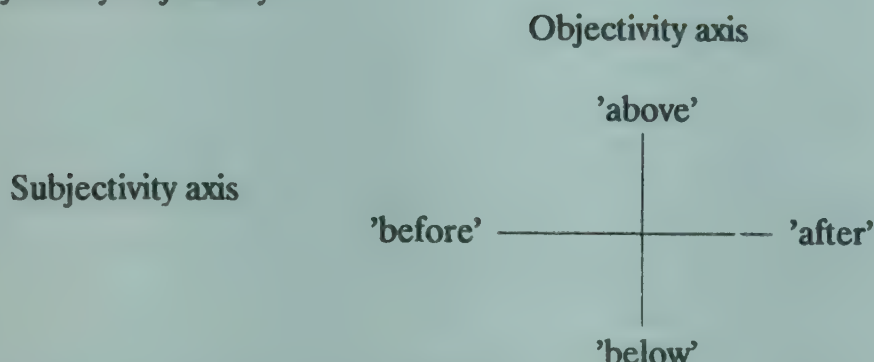
2. a. Coherence with contact:



- b. Coherence without contact:



3. Subjectivity-objectivity:



2. Towards a physics of meaning

Since the first publication of his "Structural stability and Morphogenesis" in 1972, mathematician Rene Thom has been waging a relentless campaign for the introduction of a new (non-)logic into the discipline of linguistics. The semantics that stems from his subsequent writings (many of which are compiled in Thom 1980), and elaborated in the more recent works of W.Wildgen (1981, 1982) and J.Petitot (1985a, 1989) has insisted upon mathematical topology as its base in opposition to the logicist approaches belonging to the Fregean paradigm.

In the philosophy that proceeds from Thom's Theory of Catastrophes, what characterises the universe is the constant and incessant interactional dynamism in the physical and the biological domains. This view is not without its precursors, since ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus viewed the world as constituted of a constant flux, an endless river, an incessant play of forms and figures.

This infinite flux is however, not a synonym for universal chaos, as it might be imagined. The process can be grasped in terms of structures that are at least momentarily stable. These stable structures are the interactional and dynamic morphologies which come to be and disappear. Thus the universe does not consist of things but of the creation and the destruction of stable forms (morphologies), i.e., of instances of morphogenesis. 'Morphogenesis' denotes the appearance of organic forms in the course of evolution; In more general terms, it denotes all processes of creation or destruction of forms (Thom, 1980:9-10). However, the forms thus achieved are not of an infinite variety. Since their possible variety is drastically constrained by factors of space and time, we can identify a restricted set of morphologies arising from basic physical and biological interactional dynamics. These are the 16 archetypal morphologies that Thom has set up whose validity is universal and extends equally across the physical, biological, cognitive and linguistic domains.

Thus what exists in the universe are not discrete entities, but forms that are continuous, dynamic, irreducible and owed with a certain stability

The notion of meaning that Thom has developed, integrates its physical and cognitive aspects without setting up an exclusively linguistic level of meaning. This position is in sharp contrast with the tradition of semantics inaugurated by G.Frege, where the distinction between intra-linguistic meaning (Sense) and extralinguistic meaning (Reference) is of crucial importance (See Frege 1960). Also rejected is the traditional lexicalist view, "one word, one meaning". Discrete semantic units are dismissed in favour of the topological forms that underlie the sentence structure. The archetypal morphologies are understood as constituting the deep semantic syntax (the conceptual syntax) of natural language.

The central problem Thomian semantics is trying to confront is that of the gap that exists between the physical reality and its phenomenological presentation. This gap, or the 'scission between phenomenology and physics' is linked with the fact that though the physical world is perceived in its essential continuum, i.e., as a totality of things and their relations, its description in language involves some sort of fracturing, or an inevitable 'discretisation by means of apparently disjoint lexical units. For Thom, the syntax which is essentially a means of recapturing this continuum, is generated from a semantic level which is also the deep conceptual syntax. His approach based on the study of 'interactional morphologies' on a spatial substratum is meant to develop an appropriate formalisation of the semantic syntax of natural languages.

It follows that the core linguistics ought to begin with a formalisation of semantics on the basis of the archetypal morphologies which also account for the deep syntax. The surface structures defined in terms of the syntactic categories such as the noun, verb, etc., do not capture the interactional dynamism that characterises the domain of semantics. Meaning is the domain of real physical/biological interactive occurrences that emerge as surface linguistic structures, via the archetypal morphologies. Hence we can legitimately talk about the "morphogenesis of meaning".

Thom's basic claim is that there is a mediation between the different domains, the physical, the cognitive and the linguistic (semantic), a mediation which can be understood in terms of the morphological organisation, or the morphologies of interactions. These morphologies in turn do not belong specifically to any one of the domains, but is "rooted in the a priori of the physical objectivity", i.e., in the a priori forms of space and time. The basic aim of the 'morphological' approach in linguistics is to develop an ontologically adequate formalisation of the semantic syntax of natural languages.

"Strictly geometrico-topological analysis enables us to associate with every spatio-temporal process certain combinatorial invariants.... that can reasonably thought to play an essential role, because of their basic character, in the verbal process. We believe that such is the origin of the primordial schematism that governs the linguistic organisation of our vision of the world". (Thom, 1980:24)

Thus the common morphologies of processes can be traced on a spatial substratum. What identifies a morphology is its stability of structure on the spatial substratum, determined by the factor of 'conflict'. Now, 'conflict' is synonymous with 'competition for space' which is 'one of the basic interactions in the biological world' (Thom, 1972:329). We can talk about a (stable) structure due to 'the conflict between two (or several) forces which produce it and maintain it by the conflict itself' (Thom, 1974:237). Because of the rooted in the physical interactions, Thom calls his approach 'dynamic structuralism'.

Thom tends to view the case (actantial) relations in terms of his more general and figurative notion of archetypal morphologies. The archetypal morphologies precede the categories, since the surface categories are the result of morphogenesis. There is also the factor of a 'potential difference' between the actants that govern the instances of interaction. All linguistic categories can, according to Thom, proceed from two 'transconcepts': 'saliency' and 'pregnancy', referring to the external form and the inherent quality respectively, of objects. All interactions that can be registered semantically, involve the investment of pregnancies (by a subject on an object) through the agency of the central organiser, i.e., the verb. This results in a change in the 'saliency order', which can be represented by means of modified actantial graphs. Thus the sub-jecting and ob-jecting of actants are already present as a basic aspect of biological interactions. This feature of Thom's theory lends itself the appellation 'biolinguistics'.

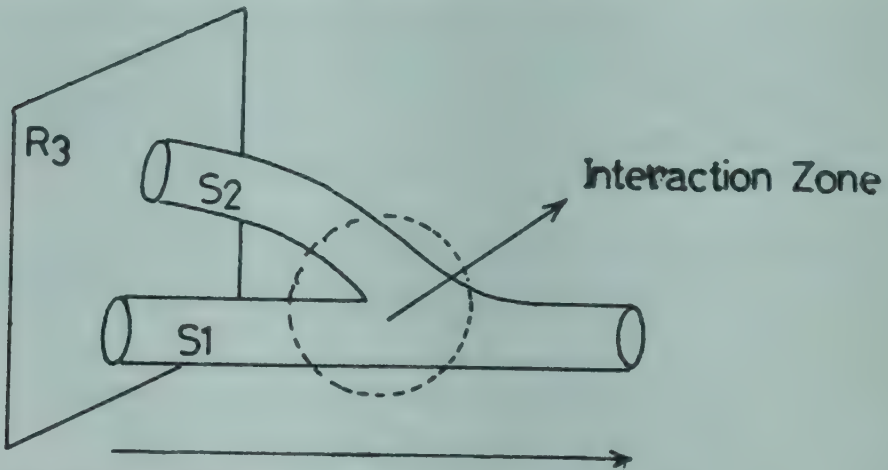
The 'deep structure' that Thom introduces, in opposition to that of Chomsky, is devoid of definite syntactic categories, as well as of the latter's combinatorial character. This is because Thom conceives the semantic structure as continuous forms, and not as discrete entities. Thom explains the need for this shift from entities to spatial morphologies:

"One of the central problems posed to the human mind is the problem of succession of forms. Whatever be the ultimate nature of reality (if this expression makes any sense), it cannot be denied that our universe is not a chaos: we discern in its beings and objects, things that we denote by words. These beings or things are forms owed with structures having a certain stability: they occupy a certain portion of space and lasts for a certain lapse of time. Further, though any given object can be observed in terms of its very different aspects, we do not hesitate to recognise it as such. The recognition of one and the same thing under an infinite variety of its aspects poses one problem (the classical philosophical problem of the concept) --- that which the Gestalt school of psychology posed in a geometric perspective, and made accessible to scientific interpretation. Let us suppose that this problem can be resolved by a naive intuition which accords the external things an existence independent of our perception. We would have to admit that the spectacle of the universe is an incessant movement of birth, development and destruction of forms. The object of all science is to foresee this evolution of forms, and if possible to explain it." (Thom, 1972:1)

In Thom's view, the individual sentence-structures reflect the dynamics of physical reality. The latter is controlled by the 'activity' of the verb which links up a limited number of actants involved in any given process. By submitting the actantial relations (in the sense of Tesniere 1959) to a topological representation, i.e., by referring them to ontologically fixed space-time dimension, Thom is able to fix a limit on the archetypal morphologies.

The main theoretical advantage of the above approach is that it can formally explain the auto-limitation of the generative capacities of natural languages. "If ... a nuclear sentence is essentially the statement of a 'conflict' between local objects (i.e., actantial places) which dispute a domain R^4 dimensions (space-time), then the number of morphologies of interaction is relatively small (about 16 archetypal morphologies)" (Thom, 1976:59). In effect, what is suggested are the parallel constraints in the semiotic and the perceptual organisation of the real, owing to a common space-time factor. As a result, shorn off the 3-dimensional thickness of the actants, "there exists an approximative isomorphism between the logos of a material being (E) and the logos of the corresponding concept $\alpha(c)$, considered as a spatial form on an Euclidean space of psychic activities". (Thom, *ibid*, p. 60)

Thom's favourite example of an archetypal morphology is that of 'capture' which derives a surface sentence "The cat eats rat". It is represented by the actantial graph (Petitot, 1985:187); (a) showing the temporal evolution of domains S_1 and S_2 and the zone of interaction;



(b) the process of 'capture' reduced to its actantial graph



where S_1 and S_2 are the paths of the actants, and O the point of interaction where the 'catastrophe' of rat's disappearance is taking place. The complete list of the archetypal morphologies are as follows (Thom, 1980:213):


(x) Etre
'to be'



11a Finir
'to finish'




11b Commencer
'to begin'



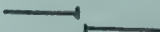
12a Unir
'to unite'




12b Separer
'to separate'




12a Devenir




12β Capturer
'to capture'




12γ Emettre
'to emit'




13a Faillir
'almost', 'to fail to'




13a Le suicide
'suicide'




13γ Agiter
'to wave', 'to shape'



13δ Repousser
'to reject'

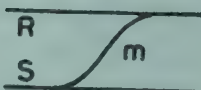


13δ Traverser
'to cross'

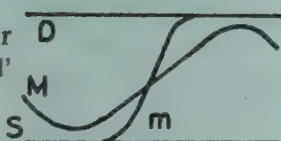


14a Donner
'to give'

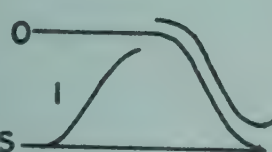
R
S m




23a Envoyer
'to send'



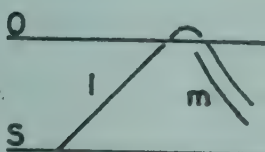
23β Prendre
'to take'



23γ Lier
'to tie', 'to connect'



23δ Couper
'to cut off'



The above archetypal morphologies are the topological representations of basic physical and biological processes, and of their cognitive/semantic correlates. According to Thom, the gap between the physical reality and its formalisation in the human sciences, especially in an 'exemplarily morphological' discipline as linguistics, can be bridged only by representing the dynamics of the actantial relations on the spatial dimension. "Every ontology, all semantics have to necessarily involve an investigation of space -- be it a geometrical or a topological one" (Thom, 1980:275).

A return to something like the Platonic forms as the major epistemological principle is pregnant with radical consequences. One of the accepted tenets of conventional structuralism is the analysis of language in terms of categorical units and their combinatory principles, i.e., in terms of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. This involves the classification of the sentential matter into its elements and categories on the basis of similarity/difference of function and meaning, and then to indicate their modes of combination. The method here is the setting up of linguistic units --- phoneme, morpheme, lexeme, sememe, etc., -- on the basis of their contextual positions, and to state their rules of combination. As a result, for example, we have different interpretation of the phoneme, the physical the abstract and the psychological. (For a detailed account of the application of Catastrophe Theory Phonology, see Petitot, 1985 b). Instead of resorting to such logically formulated abstractions, topological structuralism aims to represent the physical and the cognitive at one and the same time.

J. Petitot's elaboration of the catastrophe theory and its applications in linguistics begins from an examination of the basic principles of structuralism. Structures exist in reality as concrete wholes possessing a definite continuity among its elements. It was this fact that prompted Gilles Deleuze to observe that "the scientific ambition of structuralism is not quantitative, but topological and relational" (Deleuze, 1973:305). However, most structuralist approaches tend to represent structures in terms of discrete units and their assumed logico-combinatory relations, leaving aside the organic topological connections. This has caused what Thom calls a 'foundational aporia' in the human sciences. For example, the generative grammar has no theoretical means to indicate the real connections between the artificially separated syntactic categories that it represents by means of a tree-diagram. Further, here the semantics serves only to interpret the elements that combine to form the deep structure of the syntax.

In the place of a bicomponential analysis of syntax and semantics based on the combinatory principle, Petitot views the syntax itself as bimodal. This 'bimodality' of syntax is characterised by "on one side, the purely syntactic relation which are strictly speaking the grammatical relations, and on the other, relation often called semantic which in fact are the actantial (casual) relations responsible for the semantic roles" (Petitot, 1985:122).

Whereas the grammatical relations can be referred to the mechanism of a language automation, the actantial relations are determinative of the 'semantic roles which stand as constants in the interrelationship between language and thought' (ibid,p. 122-23).

Petitot's elaboration of the Thomian paradigm, largely within the parameters of contemporary linguistics, revolves around the following major issues:

1. Localist hypothesis as developed in a concentrated manner in Hjelmslev (1935);
2. The category of relation especially as it occurs in Hjelmslev (1935) and Tesniere (1959). (The latter owes a definite allegiance to Wilhelm Humboldt!);
3. Redefinition of formalisation in syntax-semantics in terms of schematisation in the Kantian sense of the necessity of demonstrating the empirical finality of all cognitive representations;
4. Refutation of Chomsky's hypothesis concerning the innateness of generative mechanisms and the methodological assertion on the deduction of formal syntactic universals from a topologico-dynamic level of actantial relations.

We saw in §4, that based on a rigorous structural argumentation Hjelmslev insisted on a 'method of immanence' which required that the linguistic analysis whatsoever must begin from actual occurrences in language. However, in his view a category could not be defined from the linguistic form, but from the 'expressed value'. Thus for him there are no universal cases, but only a universal category of the case (Hjelmslev, 1935:69-70). Hjelmslev identified 'relation' as the structural principle that is common to the occurrences of case elements, adpositions, and word order. These elements constituted the category of the case, a common functional category based on the 'fundamental signification' of 'relation between two objects'. Further, this relation is interpreted in terms of both the localist hypothesis that he traces from antiquity, and the Kantian imperative of spatial schematism:

"... la conception spatiale est inevitable si on veut donner a la relation in abstractio une interpretation tangible et plastique" (ibid,p.45)

In spite of the overwhelming weight of localism, of prelogical participative oppositions, Hjelmslev prefers to submit the category not to a spatial schematisation, but to a sublogical system which would subtend both the prelogical and the logical aspects of the case. Thus, Hjelmslev's initial spatial intuition succumbs to what is for him a logical-structural imperative.

Two important conceptions in Hjelmslev's account of the case category are: 1. the case is a category pertaining to the noun (in the tradition of the stoics); 2. its functional unity can be established in terms of its

fundamental signification of spatial relation. The catastrophist analysis, evidently runs counter to both the conceptions. Here, the role of the verb as the central organiser, i.e., in assigning actantial places, and thus determining the casual relations is crucial. Secondly, the cases are not thought to have notional signification of space (as it is for Hjelmslev), but are derived from certain basic spatio-temporal constraints acting upon the physical reality. The casual relations are to be deduced from the limitations imposed on possible morphologies by the space-time dimension. "The cases are derived from original spatio-temporal situations ritualized in syntactic schemes" (Petitot, 1979:521).

For Petitot, what is unacceptable in the Hjelmslevian localism is the fact that it refers to 'space of global signification' in relation to the category of the case. This sort of 'semiotisation of space' has to be substituted by a 'shematisation' where the actantial places are viewed as 'colocalisation organized around the verb' and determined by 'thresholds' or the factor of 'conflict'. Thus, it is not a global 'spatial relation between two objects' that one is looking for, but specific 'local configurations' in terms of positions and their relations, or rather 'a spatial intuition of relation between positions' (Petitot, 1985:198).

If Hjelmslev's conception of relation has Kantian undertones, Tesnière's 'connexion' is more directly linked with the Humboldtian notion of 'general relations'. For Tesnière, 'connexion' has null expression, but is perceived by the mind as present between a word and its neighbours, in a sentence. The ensemble of connexions form the framework of the sentence. (Tesnière, 1959: 11)

For example, 'connexion' is the syntactic link that is present between the words 'Alfred' and 'parle' in the phrase, 'Alfred parle'. The connexion is indispensable for the expression of continuous thought; it gives the phrase its organic and living character, and is its vital principle. To construct a phrase, it is to put life into the mass of amorphous words, while establishing between them an ensemble of 'connexions'. Inversely, to understand a sentence is to recover the 'ensemble' of connexions which unite different words; the notion of connexion is ... at the base of all structural syntax. (ibid, p. 12). Further, the notion of connexion 'which is purely interior', often corresponds to the Humboldtian 'inner linguistic form'. (ibid, p. 13)

Tesnière chose to represent the syntactic connexions by means of the stemma which "shows clearly the hierarchy of connexions, demonstrate schematically the different nodes that join up in a network, and thus materialize visually the structure of the sentence" (ibid, P.15). He points out that "though the connexions are organic and real at the level of the parole, the stemma is the visual representation of an abstract notion which is nothing but the structural scheme of the sentence". (ibid, p.16)

In this context Petitot observes that the category of connexion is also implicit in the inverted tree-diagram of early generative grammar, but Chosky does not give it any formal status. The rewriting rules of Choskyan axiomatisation are insensitive to the theoretical validity of the category of connexion.

Petitot observes that though the relations/connexions are not expressed in the surface syntax, they belong all the same to the 'form of the content', a notion which for G-G. Granger corresponds to the condition of possibility of language itself. Rather than as a neutral representation of the connections, it is possible to reinterpret the Tesnierian stemma as 'traces of the internal catastrophic dynamic processes' of the mental activity which remains unexplained otherwise. (Petitot, 1985:143). "As the relational form of the syntax, the connexions are the incorporeals exteriorising the psychic 'black box'" (ibid, p.141-42)

Thus it is possible to explain formally the syntactic relations which in fact constitute the form of the content, by projecting them on to a dynamic spatial substratum. Thom's archetypal morphologies are, in this sense 'relational morphologies' which present "an indissolubly semantic and syntactic intermediate level between the grammatical and lexical level, where semantics generates syntax and syntax expresses the form of the content" (Petitot, 1989: 199).

With respect to formalisation, the merit of the 'relational morphologies' is that it is developed on the basis of a mathematics which is sensitive to the continuous character of the semantic domain. Contrary to the formal syntaxes of logico-combinatory essence, consisting of a calculus of recursive properties of language, the conceptual syntax of paradigmatic (i.e., lexical-schematic) origin allow for the characterisation of meaning relations which comprise the form of the content. (Petitot, 1985:63)

In this context, the relationship between formalization and mathematicisation becomes relevant. Often a preconstituted mathematics is used for formalisation in diverse disciplines. The attempt at formalisation in terms of axiomatisation characteristic of the generative grammar is a case in point. This sort of approach was condemned in the mathematical philosophy of Albert Lautman: "By wanting to construct mathematical notions from a small number of primitive logical notions and propositions, one loses the integral character of the established theories" (Lautman, 1977: 23-24). Thus, the specificity of the structural domain of a particular discipline should not be sacrificed while attempting mathematisation. It is not possible to derive diverse structures from a single and preconstituted mathematics of primitive notions. "The attention given to purely formal mathematics must give way to the dualism of a topological structure and functional properties relative to that structure. The object studied is not the total set of propositions derived from the axioms, but organized, structured, complete entities having an anatomy and physiology of their own. The overriding point of view here is the synthesis of necessary conditions and not the analysis of primary notions". (Lautman, 1977: 281-82)

In linking up the field of semantics with the a priori forms of intuition (i.e., space and time, the elements of Kantian transcendental aesthetic) Petitot also proposes a shift in the presumed 'seat' of the linguistic universals. We are now compelled to move away from an ontology of innate structures to the pure forms of cognition and language established by the internal conditions of their possibility. We move away from the generative operations of a mysterious 'black box' to the content forms that play their productive role at various levels of language synthesis. Such a movement, according to Petitot has been hitherto hampered by an inadequate formalisation implicit in the generative grammar, i.e., by the absence of a 'pure' level of linguistic analysis:

"Instead of seeking out the specific mathematical tools that confirm to the eidetic character of natural languages, Chomsky has adopted for the reduction of syntax to formalism. Consequently, he has been led to reinterpret the a priori dimension in innatist terms. It is fallacious to infer an ontological proposition from an internal limitation of descriptive formalisms" (Petitot, 1989: 181-82)

The localist hypothesis radicalised by the theory of catastrophes, which conducts us to an adequate formalisation of the syntactico-semantic structures could very well dispose of the 'innateness' hypothesis situated as a dead-end at the center of linguistic theory as it is enunciated by the generative grammarians. In developing the latter hypothesis, Chomsky has frequently insisted on the 'inaccessibility' of grammatical knowledge, and rejects the Kantian position that all cognitive representations should be referable in terms of their empirical finality:

"As I am using the term, knowledge may be unconscious and not accessible to consciousness. It may be 'implicit' or 'tacit'. No amount of introspection could tell us what we know, or cognise, or use certain rules or principles of grammar, or that use of language involves mental representations formed by these rules and representations. This conclusion appears to be inconsistent with requirements that have been widely enunciated. Kant, for example, insisted that "All representations have a necessary relation to a possible empirical consciousness. For if they did not have this, and if it were altogether impossible to become conscious of them, this would practically amount to the admission of their non-existence" (Chomsky, 1980:128).

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Applied Linguistics: Focus on Functions

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This paper is organized into two parts:

Part I presents a discussion of the notion of 'functions' and 'functional linguistics'.

Part II focuses on a sociofunctional view of the teaching of English in India.

I

Linguists and language teachers have begun to realise that there is no point in setting up an artificial dichotomy between 'form' and 'function' and hence between 'formal linguistics' and 'functional linguistics'. We are all trying to understand two things: 'What a remarkable tool is language !' and 'What a piece of work is the human child'. The picture of the human child that we have is not that of a passive recipient of 'rules' but of an actor, a doer, an explorer, a creative artist, who gets a thrill of delight in shaping, representing, creating and recreating the universe: natural and social around him. The picture of language that we have is not that of a set of sentences and words but of a dynamic and bouncing system - infact, a network of systems and subsystems capable of capturing human experiences ranging from simple culture-bound phatic communion to supracultural metaphysical speculations. For us language is a resource, a repertoire, a socio-cultural potential: the word 'culture' used here to represent a continuum from regional culture to supraregional culture. For us human beings are born with a built-in ability to explore, exploit and create resources, for they are not just message bearers but meaning-makers. Meaning-making is a process that does not and cannot take place up in the air: it has to have its realization in what we say and how we say it in social cultural settings. Human beings in interaction in natural and socio-cultural settings attach meanings to forms or create new forms: 'co-brother' and 'I'll go and come back' for example, derive their meaning from the Indian context of culture. 'Military Hotel' is

not like 'military uniform' - hotel meant for soldiers or an army. In the South Indian settings it means a hotel where meat is served.

Language, it may therefore be said, is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to serve. In our view 'is' and 'does' - 'being' and 'doing' are mutually defining and present two aspects of the same process. The creativity of human beings lies in following the rules of the game, playing with them, bending them, breaking them, and also acting like umpires. What we interact with is not the language but 'language in use'; What we capture is not the language as a monolithic system but language as a network of linguistic and sociolinguistic rules. Linguistic rules tell us what goes with what and what goes where; sociolinguistic rules tell us what to say when and how. In order to understand the active interaction between 'form' and 'function', we need both linguistic rules and sociolinguistic rules.

What we really find interesting is that the questions that come up when we look at language as a monolithic system, a decontextualized system are different from those that emanate from our perception of language as a social semiotic. In the first case the questions are:

What is language? What are the constituents of language? How are they organized? What are the constraints on what can go with what, what can go where? What is it that you *know* when you know a language?

In the second case the questions are:

What is language? What are the purposes that language serves for us? What are the choices that language offers at different levels? How are these choices realized and organized? Are there global and culture-specific constraints on what to say when and how? What is it that you get to *know* in the process of playing a variety of roles and thereby exploring the functions of language?

The form-centered and function centered answers to the question, 'Why study language?' are:

- (i) Language is a mirror of mind. By a detailed study of the formal systems we might hope to reach a better understanding of how the human mind ticks and how it produces and processes language.
- (ii) Language is a mirror of society. By a detailed study of the use of language we might hope to reach a better understanding of how the formal patterns of language have been shaped and determined by what we use them for.

Language is something we 'know'; by virtue of the fact that we are humans, we are born with this ability. Language is also something we 'do'; by virtue of the fact that we are social beings, we use it as a multilevel telephone network of our society .

II

As teachers and language planners we would like to take a functional view of language- in a Firtho-Hallidayan sense. The focus in this presentation, therefore is on a socio-functional approach to the teaching of English in India. Why sociofunctional ? The answer is : We are not looking at English with a capital E but at one of the Englishes - *English in India* which represents the use of English in a multilingual and multicultural setting. Learning English as a second language in India means learning how to mean in a new socio-cultural environment, for the linguistic system and the social system are mutually defining. Neither can be learnt without the other. It may, therefore , be useful to find answers to the following questions:

- (a) What are the topics and situations that necessitate the use of English in India Today?
- (b) Who are the people who use English?
- (c) Has English in India been shaped by its functions in the Indian settings ? Has it acquired a local colour?
- (1) English in India is what it is because of its functions in the Indian multilingual settings.
- (2) Learning English in India means learning how to mean in India and also in the Western Society ('window' function).

Consider the following(Verma 1988,61-63)

1. (a) May she have a hundred male issues.
(Raja Rao: *The Cow of the Barricades and other Stories*)
- (b) Shut up, Saley: stop your tain, tain
(M. R. Anand: *The Sword and the Sickle*)
- (c) My professor will eat me up.
(R. K. Narayan: *Bachelor of Arts*)
- (d) O Maharaj, we are lickens of your feet.
(B. Bhattacharya: *He who rides the tiger*)
- (e) Sardar Sahib, you are a big man and we are but small radishes from an unknown garden.
(Kushwant Singh: *I shall not hear the nightingales*)

2. (a) What's your good name?
 (b) My Mrs is not well.
 (c) Respected Doctor Saheb! May god bless you with a son!
3. (a) I am having a new car.
 (b) When he left for his native place?
 (c) I will come by walk.
 (d) We had a party. We enjoyed very much.
4. But one person who is the ekdum dukhi at Ms Agnihotri's fate is Smita Patil (Star dust, April 1985:19).

In 1(a)-(e) the Indian novelists have used, what they consider to be, English equivalents of what the characters would have said in their mother tongue. Mulk Raj Anand has clearly stated that he found, while writing spontaneously, that he was invariably translating dialogues from the original Punjabi into English. Some of Anand's and Kushwant Singh's expressions are so deeply rooted in the local soil that they are not easily understood even by the speakers of Dravidian languages in India. R. K. Narayan has said that "we are not attempting to write Anglo-Saxon English. The English language ... is now undergoing a process of Indianization in the same manner as it adopted U.S. citizenship over a century ago, with the difference that it is the major language there but here one of the fifteen listed in the Indian Constitution" (Narayan, 1965:123). These new voices are externalizations of Indian experiences in a language which has thus far been viewed as a monolithic system.

2(a)-(c) are culture-bound and look maltreated in an alien language. Most of the Indian learners of English succeed in capturing the principles underlying the major categorization of the grammatical concepts in English. Learners get 'generic help' in learning unmarked rules and forms, and hence tend to master them relatively easily, but they find it difficult to capture the subsystems and marked forms. An unmarked form is one which accord with general tendencies in a language; a marked form is one which goes against these general tendencies and hence is an exception in some way. The learners of a second language tend to neutralize the distinction between marked and unmarked forms/major systems and subsystems. They generate a grammar in which the marked-unmarked distinctions of the target language are neutralized; the subsystems are built into the major systems. This leads to over-generalization, generating sentences like the ones listed under 3.

Codemixing and codeswitching have been used (as in 4) as strategies to present a faithful picture of the linguistic performances of English based

bilinguals. Hindi-English bilingualism has set in motion two processes - Englishization or Anglicization of Hindi and Hindianization or Hindiaza-tion of English. Both Anglicized Hindi and Hindiazed English represent new varieties. They draw from the socio-cultural settings of India and function as r gistr al and stylistic devices used in bilingual communities. Language change is a continuous process of adjustment between us who use language and the socio-cultural settings in which we use it. The users of English in India have restructured English - reanalysed it and created new sets of patterns. Indian English is what it is because of the functions it performs in the Indian setting.

It is therefore necessary to recognize the distinctive properties of English in India and promote the stabilization of a pan-Indian standard based on regional literature, on radio and television, all-India newspapers and magazines and teacher-learner interactions in classrooms. This is im-portant because the main objective of teaching English in our situation is not simply to make the learners learn the language skills but to enable them to play their communicative roles effectively and select lan-guages/registers/styles according to the roles they are playing. "Teaching a second language is a process of helping our pupils make appropriate register choices out of their register range...". Register shift i.e., the ability to shift registers according to shifts in situations, is one of the crucial conditions for the success in handling a second language effectively. "If you do not know your lines, you are no use in the play" (Verma, 1969:299-300).

What we are advocating is a socio-functional approach to the teaching of English as a second language in India. According to this approach teaching a second/foreign language means preparing learners to perform a variety of tasks and play a variety of roles in a new socio-cultural context.

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LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE BHILS IN INDIA

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Introduction

Language change to social scientists simply means switching over from traditional to non-traditional language. For example, the traditional language of the Bhils is Bhili. If they declare other than Bhili as their mother tongue meaning thereby that there is a change in their linguistic identity. Studies of Dalton (1872), Russell (1916), Hutton (1933), Gopal (1966), Chatterji (1969), Bose (1969), Dasgupta (1970), Royburman (1972), Doshi (1972), Sachchidananda (1972) Burdhan (1973), Kachru (1977), Ishtiaq (1985), etc. clearly indicated that language change is taking place among all the tribal groups throughout the country. The change takes place in both the directions i.e., tribal and non-tribal languages. Some changes are also found in the direction of non-regional languages.

The multidimensional changes in linguistic identity among the tribal communities may be found as a result of the growing contacts and inter-communication with other linguistic groups. A section of the non-tribal population infiltrated into the tribal homelands in order to harness the natural resources. As a result, interaction between them led to cultural change. Since, Language is an important part of culture, its change is inevitable (Hoiijer, 1964:558). The contact with the missionaries may also be considered one of the strong forces in bringing about language change among the tribal communities in India.

Directions of language change

Language change among the tribal communities in India is likely to be in the following directions:

- i) to other tribal languages;
- ii) to regional languages;
- iii) to non-tribal non-regional languages;
- iv) to international languages.

The above hypothetical illustration may be understood in actual terms by selecting the Bhils from Madhya Pradesh.

- i) By declaring Gondi;
- ii) By declaring Hindi;
- iii) By declaring Marathi;
- iv) By declaring English etc.

As it has already been pointed out that tribes in India speak not only their traditional language but many other languages belonging to both tribal and non-tribal communities. All these may be classified under the following groups:

- a) tribes speaking a dialect with which they are traditionally identified;
- b) tribes speaking a dialect of other tribal groups with whom they have come in contact;
- c) tribes speaking regional languages;
- d) tribes speaking non-tribal non-regional languages.

Group 'a' refers to those tribes who remained loyal to their traditional language and retained it as their mothertongue. On the other hand, group 'b', 'c' and 'd' refer to language change. Group 'b' refers to those who have adopted dialects of other tribal groups. For example, the Bhils in Madhya Pradesh declared Gondi as their mothertongue. Group 'c' refers to those who have declared Hindi as their mothertongue. Along the border areas of the states of India, there are groups of tribal population who have declared non-tribal non-regional languages as their mothertongue. It is found that the Bhils of Madhya Pradesh along the border Gujarat declared Gujarati and those living along the Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra borders declared Marathi as their mothertongue. Both these languages are non-tribal non-regional in character for the Bhils and have been classified under the 'd' group. The tribes declaring foreign languages have also been classified under the category 'd'.

The Bhils and their tongue

Bhils are considered as the oldest inhabitants of southern Rajputana and parts of Gujarat (Russell, 1916 :279). Presently, they are the dominant tribal group of the western geographical region of the country occupying over 53 districts lying in the states of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat. According to the census of India- 1981, about two million Bhils reside in Gujarat, 2.5 million in Madhya Pradesh, one million in Maharashtra and 1.8 million in Rajasthan. The Bhils are considered revengeful, fearless,

warriors and courageous with short temper. They would prefer to die rather than beg (Doshi, 1971:219). The scholars are divided in their opinions on the question of their origin but it is fact that the Hindu epics like Puranas, Mahabharata and Ramayana have mentioned their presence in the country. The Bhils are characterised by bows and arrows, the typical weapons of the tribe.

Grierson, Ghurye, Doshi, Russell etc. believe that the Bhils have completely abandoned their own language and have been speaking Bhili, a corrupt dialect derived mainly from Gujarati and Marwari. Linguistically Bhili has been classified as the Indo-Aryan language but it also contains a number of non-Aryan words. These words have come from the Mundari and from the Dravidian languages (Russell, 1916 :293). The distribution of Bhili may be described as an irregular shaped triangle with the apex at the Aravali hills in the north and the base roughly corresponds the border of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra (Grierson,1967:1). The Census of India 1981 registered about 4.5 million speakers of Bhili and its dialects. Out of which 1.7 million speakers returned from Rajasthan, 1.6 million from Madhya Pradesh, 0.8 million from Maharashtra and 0.43 million from Gujarat.

The territory which Bhili occupied is rather extensive and there are, as might be expected, differences of dialect in the different parts of the Bhil region. Towards the north and east it gradually merges into the various forms of Rajasthani. In the west and south, the influence of Gujarati and Marathi gradually increases. More towards the east it gradually approaches to Khandesi. Bhili, therefore forms a continuous chain between Rajasthani through Gujarati and Khandesi and Marathi. Bhili of Mahikantha (Gujarat) has been considered as the standard dialect from where one can see the ramification in all directions(Grierson, 1967:7). There are altogether 36 dialects which have been classified under Bhili language. Important among them are Bhilala mainly returned from Madhya Pradesh, Bhilodi from Gujarat and Wagdi from Rajasthan.

Maintenance of traditional language

Out of the total 53 districts, there are only 21 districts in which the Bhils declared their traditional language as their mothertongue. The degree of maintenance of traditional language is very low except in the case of the districts of Dungarpur(Rajasthan) in which almost hundred percent Bhils have declared their traditional language. The degree of maintenance is also very high in Jhabua(Madhya Pradesh) and Bhanswara (Rajasthan) districts with the percentage of 81.8 and 76.5 respectively. In the district of Ratlam(Madhya Pradesh) and Dhulia (Maharashtra) the share of the traditional language varies from 60 to 75 per cent while in the remaining 15 districts its share is low. Most of these districts may be classified under the least maintenance category in which less than 20 per cent Bhils have declared their traditional language as mothertongue.

Language change

There are 32 districts in which cent per cent Bhils have changed their traditional language and declared non-traditional languages as their tongue. In another 20 districts the magnitude of the change varies from 18 to 99 percent. Among these districts there are 12 districts which have been classified as the areas of very high change in which the degree of change is more than 75 per cent. The high degree of change is found in 4 districts while medium and low degree of changes are found in two districts each.

The language change among the Bhils have been classified into the following three groups.

Bhils declared other tribal languages

There are 23 districts in which the Bhils have registered other Tribal languages as mothertongue. Out of the total, there are 15 districts in which less than 10 per cent Bhils have registered other tribal languages as mother-tongue. The share ranges from 10 to 20 per cent in another 3 districts. There are 4 districts in which the share of tribal languages vary from 20 to 60 per cent. It is interesting to note that more than 72 per cent Bhils of Jaipur district declared other Tribal languages as their mothertongue. Among the other Tribal languages Malvi, Dangi, Bard, Ahirni, Harauti etc. are important.

Bhils Declared Regional Languages

There are 48 districts in which the Bhils have declared regional languages as mothertongue. Out of which, there are 23 districts in which more than 90 per cent Bhils returned regional language. There are as many as five districts in which cent per cent Bhils have declared regional language. The share of regional language varies from 40 to 80 per cent in another 10 districts. The share reanges between 20 to 40 per cent in five districts and in another three districts it is less than 20 per cent. Hindi and its dialects are considered as regional language in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan while Gujarati and Marathi in the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra respectively.

Bhils declared non-tribal non-regional language

There are 40 districts in which the Bhils have declared non-tribal non-regional languages as their mothertongue. There are only 6 districts in which the share varies from 10 to 60 per cent. In the remaining 34 districts, less than 10 per cent of Bhils have registered non-tribal non-regional languages as their mothertongue(table 1). Hindi Gujarati, Telugu and Kannada are categorised as non-tribal non-regional languages in Maharashtra

while Hindi, Marathi, Telugu and Kannada in Gujarat and Gujarati, Marathi and Telugu in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

Typology and language change and maintenance

The degree of language change and maintenance among the Bhils varies from one per cent to almost hundred per cent. Such a large variation makes difficult to arrive at meaningful conclusions. To overcome this problem, an exercise has been attempted in this section to identify the typology of language change and maintenance in order to demarcate the areas with very high, high, medium and low degrees of language change and maintenance.

Methodological Procedure

The percentages of language change and maintenance are classified into the following four groups:

- a) very high (above 75 %)
- b) high (50 - 75 %)
- c) medium (25 -50 %)
- d) low (below 25 %)

It is to be noted here that less than 0.5 per cent has been considered as zero and more than 99.5 per cent as hundred per cent. In order to find out the typology, the above identified groups of change and maintenance have been shown on the maps. These maps have been superimposed to demarcate the areas of mixed groups of change and maintenance(fig.1). The following are the types of groups that have been identified after the superimposition of the change and maintenance maps.

- 1) Areas of very high maintenance with low change (V1)
- 2) Areas of high maintenance with medium change (Hm)
- 3) Areas of medium maintenance with high change (Mh)
- 4) Areas of low maintenance with very high change (Lv)

Areas of very high maintenance with low change

Except Dungarpur district in which cent per cent Bhils have declared their traditional language as mothertongue, there are two districts - Banswara and Jhabua in which very high maintenance is associated with low degree of change. These districts are situated almost in the centre of the Bhil region.

Areas of high maintenance with medium change

There are two districts - Ratlam and Dhulia in which high maintenance is associated with medium degree of change. These districts are found adjacent to the V1 type. Dhulia is situated in the south while Ratlam in the northeast.

Areas of medium maintenance with high change

There are four districts in which medium grades of maintenance are associated with high degree of change. The districts of Dhar, West Nimar and East Nimar together forming a large pocket of this type while Bhil district is having the same type located in central Maharashtra.

Areas of low maintenance with very high change

There are 12 districts in which low degree of language maintenance is associated with very high degree of language change among the Bhils. These districts are found on the peripheries of the Bhil region (Appendix-1).

Conclusions

The study reveals that there is a language change among the major section of the Bhil population. There are only one district in which almost hundred per cent Bhils have declared their traditional language as mother-tongue. On the other hand there are 32 districts out of the 53 in which cent per cent Bhils have declared non-traditional language as their mothertongue. The degree of maintenance is also high in the districts of Banswara, Ratlam, Jhabua and Dhulia while in 20 districts the magnitude of change is very high. The medium and low degree of change are found in four districts only.

The study of typology of change and maintenance reveals that the areas with high degree of maintenance and low degree of change are found in the heartland of the Bhil region. On the other hand the areas with high degree of change and low degree of maintenance lie on the peripheries. The areas with medium degree of change and maintenance are located in between the above mentioned areas. Some irregular pattern in the distribution of these types is also noticed in the region which may be explained as mainly due to the development of industries and urban centres in the tribal heartlands and secondly, depending upon the patterns of interaction between tribals and non-tribals.

The value of coefficient of variation for language maintenance is 88.44 indicating higher regional variation while the value for the change is 34.43 indicating lower regional variation.

Table-1:

Degree of Language Change and Maintenance

%	traditional	other tribal	regional	non-tribal nonregional
> 80	2	-	30	-
60-80	3	1	7	-
40-60	1	2	3	2
20-40	4	2	5	2
10-20	3	3	2	2
< 10	7	15	1	3

APPENDIX -1

**Typology of Language Change and Maintenance among Bhils
(Change)**

%	No. of Dist.	Name of District
> 75	12	Bharoach, Surat, Udaipur, Chittorgarh, Sehore, Jalgaon, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, Aurangabad, Nanded, Osmanabad, Parbhani
50-75	4	Dhar, West Nimar, East Nimar, Bhir
25-50	2	Ratlam, Dhulia
< 25	2	Banswara, Jhabua
100 % Change in		Kutch, Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Mehsana Kaira, Ahmadabad, Panchmahal, Baroda Dangs, Bharatpur, Sawai Madhupur, Jaipur, Ajmer, Tonk, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Nagaur, Pali, Barmer, Jalore, Sirohi, Bundi, Kota, Jhalawar, Panna, Satna, Raisan, Greater Bombay, Nasik, Poona, Thana.
100 % Maintenance in		Dungarpur only.

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EXPLICATOR COMPOUND VERB

ARUN

Jawaharlal Nehru University

ECV- An overview

"One of the non-Indo-European syntactic features found in every Indo-Aryan Language spoken today is the construction known as the compound verb"(Hook,1977).Present discussion will deal with a special kind of compound verb accepted by linguistics as the explicator compound verb(ECV).ECV is found in all the Indian languages extensively in Indo-Aryan(Including Sinhalese) and Dravidian less so in Tibeto-Burman and marginally in Munda.

ECV means a sequence of at least two verbs V1 + V2 where the first verb is the main or predicating verb and the second verb is one that explicates the meaning of V1 while losing its original lexical meaning, hence takes the name explicator.

Subbarao (1979) refers explicators as *secondary verbs* in his analysis. He underlines that the verbs do not have their original lexical meaning and they do not impart any radical meaning to the verb, however they are verbs to the extent that they are conjugated for tense, person, number and gender.

Example: Telugu +

1. $\bar{a}me\ i\bar{L}ati\ vedhava\ pani\ \underset{V_1}{\bar{c}esi-k\bar{u}r\bar{c}ondi}$

she such bad work do-pst SAT

'she did such a bad thing' (displeasure)

The main verb in the sentence is 'cēs' 'do' and in the perfect participial form. The lexical meaning of the verb 'kurcon' 'sit' is not the primary meaning of the verb in the sentence but by using the V2, the speaker expresses displeasure or unpleasantness.

Bhat(1979) supports this nature of the explicators in his discussion on *vectors* in Kannada.

Example:kannada@

2*huduga ondu citteyannu hididu = bitta*

boy one butterfly caught released
'The boy caught a butterfly.'

The sentence indicates the occurrence of only one action, namely 'catch'. It does not indicate the action denoted by the second verb, namely 'release' that is the boy does not release the butterfly after catching it.

Masica(1976) distinguishes between conjunctive participle(CP....V) and ECV(Vv).According to him "a conjunctive participle is followed (or perhaps with an intervening emphatic particle) by a finite verb the two forming a unit in which the main verb is the participle, the finite verb acting as a modifying auxiliary" i.e. Conjunctive participle + finite verb. ECV is just the opposite the finite verb is the explicator and a secondary element and the participle is the infinite main verb i.e. infinite verb + secondary element.

The critical difference between V1V2(CP...V) and V1V2(Vv) is the shift in the semantic centre of gravity from V2 to V1 with lexical emptying or grammaticalisation of V2.

Hindi !

- 3a. cor meraa rupayaale(ke) bhagaa
V1 (main verb) V2 (finite verb, sem.gravity) thief my(poss.)
money take (conj.part.) went away(pst.3.sg.m.)
'The thief took my money and went away'
- 3b. me man hi manro liyaa
V1(main verb, finite verb, sem.grav.) V2(exp.gram.)
'I cried to myself'

In 3a. though the meaning of action is given by V1+V2, the semantic gravity rests in V2 whereas in 3b it rests in V1. In 3a. neither V1 nor V2 loses its lexical meaning('le' does not mean 'take' here). Instead it gives the meaning of the action as a whole i.e. 'introvert action'.

Kannada @

- 4a. huduga ondu citteyannu hididu-konde
V1(main verb) V2(finite verb, sem.grav.)
(CP.....V)
boy one butterfly.acc.caught killed
'The boy caught a butterfly and killed it'
- 4b. *huduga ondu citteyannu hididu-bitta*
V1(main verb fin.V.sem.grav.) V2(exp.gram.)

boy one butterfly .acc.caught released
'The boy caught a butterfly.'

4a. indicates the occurrence of two consecutive actions (namely 'catch' and 'kill') whereas 4b. indicates the occurrence of only one action (namely 'catch'). The second verb V2 loses its lexical meaning 'release' and acts as an explicator.

The salient features of ECV can be summarized as:

- ECV is a V1 + V2 construction (discussed above)
- V2 is homophonous with an independent verb (Abbi, 1990)
- V2 gets delexicalised and only occurs in the sequence to mark the main verb V1 for certain grammatical features.

-ECV alternates with the corresponding simple verb with no apparent change in the cognitive meaning of the predicate (Abbi, 1990). This does not mean that no meaning is lost or gained by the use of the simple verb in place of the ECVs or vice versa, but simply that the use of one or the other does not alter the truth value of the predication made in either case.

-Explicators are lexically restricted and lexically selective (Masica, 1976). A given V2 combines only with such V1 as are compatible with it or as have the semantic potential for it.

-V1 and V2 in the sequence do not have independent status. So the immediate gloss for a compound verb is provided not by the sum total of the individual lexical meanings of the two verbs but by the V1 alone.

-V1 constituting the semantic core or nucleus (Gopalakrishnan, 1985) of the compound verb is referred to as the 'main verb', 'polar verb' or 'principle verb'.

-V1 is found in some non-finite form (base, participial or absolute).

-The set of V2 usually includes such lexical items as go, come, give, take, rise, fall, throw, put, sit i. e. verbs of position or motion (Masica, 1976)

-A strong sense of directionality is attached to the lexical specification of V2 viz. away from the speaker (come, take, arrive), up (rise, emerge) down (fall, throw, descend), motionlessness (sit, stand, put) suddenness (fall) and violence (throw).

-There is a very selective closed set of verbs which can function as explicators and generally come in pairs of opposites (Abbi,90) e.g. COME-GO, TAKE-GIVE, RISE-FALL, KEEP- THROW, SIT-STAND.

-V2 connotes contempt, respect, surprise, regret, anger, irreversibility, anticipation, volition, carelessness, violence etc. etc. (will be dealt in semantic analysis)

-V2 has variously been called 'secondary verb' (Subbarao), 'auxiliary' (Barker, Bailey), 'operator' (Burtonpage, Dwarikesh, Kachru), 'Vector' (Pray, Hook) 'intensive auxiliary' (Pahwa), Explicator (Van Olphen, Bahl).

Malayalam#

- 5a. *avan ente pustakam kiiRi*
he my book tear (pst. tns)
'he tore my book'
- 5b. *avan ente pustakam kiiRi kalāññu*
he my book tear throw away (pst.tns)
'He tore my book'(undesirable)

Oriya\$

- 6a. *ramaa baDi sakaaLe UThIIaa*
rama early morning -in got up
'Rama got up early in the morning'
- 6b. *ramaa baDI sakaaLe UThi-paDIIaa*
rama early morning-in got up FALL.pst. 3.sg.
'Rama got up early in the morning' (exclamation)
- 6c. *ramaa daUDU daUDU paDIIaa*
rama run run fall down.pst.3.sg.
'Rama fell down while running.'

In sentence 5b and 6b. '*kaI*' and '*paD*' are the respective explicators. 6c. shows the homophonous character of the explicator '*paD*' with an independent verb '*paDIIaa*'. '*paD*' is an independent verb with a fixed lexical meaning i. e. 'fall'.

Both '*kaI*' and '*paD*' lose their respective lexical meaning in the V1V2 construction and take the tense, number and person markers. At the same time they give specific meanings to the sentences. Neither '*kiiRi*' nor '*kalāññu*' has independent status and hence the immediate gloss of the ECV is 'tear'. Same with '*uThI*' and '*paDIIaa*' and the gloss is 'got up'.

Use of '*kaḷaññu*' in 5b. and '*paḌḷaa*' in 6b. does not change the cognitive meaning of the predicate in 5a. and 6a. that is, if 5a. and 6a. are true, so are 5b. and 6b. But the explicators add special meanings to the main verb, i. e. 'undesirability' in the former and 'surprise' in the later.

The main verbs in 5b. and 6b. (*kiiRi* and *UThi*) are in past participle form and occurrence of '*kaḷaññu*' and '*paḌḷa*' is dependent on them. The explications can never be added to any arbitrary main verb. V2 selects its V1. Hence constructions like the following are unacceptable in the language.

oriya\$

- * 7. mU khaaLoaḌIII
I eat.pst.prt.FALL.pst.1.sg.
'I ate' (completion)

Hindi

- 8a. vo gaa-UThaa
he sing - base RISE .pst.3.sg.mas.
'He sang' (spontaneity)
*8b. vo mar UThaa
he kill -base RISE .pst.3.sg.mas.
'He killed'.

The meaning an explicator assigns to its V1 is restricted. Not all explicators assign the same or altogether different meanings. Sometimes, they are mutually exclusive and some times they are overlapping. This will be dealt in greater detail while discussing the semantic nature of Kurux explicators.

It is interesting to note that in 6b. the ECV is a set of opposite verbs i.e. *UTh* 'rise' and *paḌ* (fall). More examples in Hindi are 'aa-jao' (come-go) *rakh*-*Daalo* (keep-throw) etc.

Keeping in mind the above discussed paradigm, ECVs in Kurux will be discussed in the following pages.

Kurux explicators

Unlike the Indo-Aryan Languages Kurux has a few explicators. I found five different explicators. Out of the five some are more frequent and some are less. They can be arranged in the order of decreasing frequency of occurrence.

List of explicators

Explicator	Gloss	General Meaning
ci?	give	sudden, without volition, deliberate, done easily, violent, benefaction, overtaction, contempt, surprise, undesirability, etc.
kaal (ker)	go	sudden, without volition, unexpectedness, regret, etc.
xacc	break (a rope)	leaving something or somebody with out any future chance of going back or referring back.
bi?	cook	leaving something or somebody with a chance of referring back or meeting again.
kudd	wander/roam around	continuity till getting tired, no chance of finding out what is searched.

Semantic meaning of the explicators

The types of meanings indicated by the explicators can be grouped into three major heads, viz. ASPECTUAL, ADVERBIAL and ATTITUDINAL (Abbi,90). The aspectual type is the least fragmented one and it refers to the overlapping meanings of 'perfectivity' and 'completion'. A perfective action is identified roughly as event or action seen as a whole and total achievement.

9. aas barcas-keras
he can GO.pst.
'He came' (perfective)
10. meri ormi aasmaan moxaa -ci?ccaa
meri all bread eat GIVE.pst.
'meri ate all the bread' (completion)

ci?

- 11.i: ciTThIn eNgaage ci?aa
this letter me - to give
'Give this letter to me'

12. govInds berxan i: rias
govind cat see. pst.3.sg.mas.
'Govind saw a cat.'
13. govinds kaanUm kaanUm bërzan i:rias - ci?ccas
govind walking walking cat see GIVE
(pst.3.sg.mas.) (pst.3.sg.mas.)
'Govind saw a cat while walking.' (happenstance)

11. and 12. show the independent existence of two verbs that act as an explicator (V2) and a main verb (V1) in 13. respectively. 12. simply states the occurrence of an event, but 13 conveys something more than just an event. In this case 13.gives the meaning that Govind was not intended to see a cat but he saw one. After seeing the cat he took it lightly as if nothing had happened. This shows that V2 attaches a specific meaning to the event or action.

ci? is the most frequent explicator in Kurux conveying different meanings when attached to different main verbs.

14. e:n kaanUm kaanUm ij?kan -ci?cckan
i walking walking stop .pst.1.sg.mas GIVE .pst. 1. sg.mas.
'I stopped while walking.' (suddenness)

14. tells us that the action is interrupted suddenly because of some unexpected event in the course. The process of 'walking' gets interrupted suddenly because of some kind of untoward incidence.

15. raakeS due ghanTaanu baanjcaskI mUnjlas-ci?ccas
rakesh two hours (dur) whole book read GIVE
(pst.3.sg.mas.)(pst.3.sg.mas)
'Rakesh read the whole book in two hours.'
(completion and deliberate action)

The actor does not simply read a book but he plans to complete reading the whole book within a specific span of time . The sentence shows the determination of the actor. The speaker emphasises the deliberate action of the agent.

- 16i: DhIbaan niNghaae xedde we?aa - ci?aa
this money you. poss. with keep GIVE
(pst.2.sg.mas.)(pst.2.sg.mas.)
'Keep this money with you'(action done easily).

The speaker states his words plainly and unhesitatingly. He says someone to keep an amount of his money.

- 17.i: aalas majhinU AADhsIas - ci?ccas
 this boy between -in come GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.mas.)(pst.3.sg.mas.)
 'This boy came in the middle'(undesirability)

The expressions gives the displeasure of the speaker. The agent was busy with some work and the presence of the boy interrupted it. The presence of the boy was undesirable.

- 18a. aas e: rnUm e:rnUm mUciaan eras-ci?ccas
 he seeing seeing chair break GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.mas.)(pst.3.sg.mas.)
 'He broke the chair' (with violent action)

The action got completed within a short span before the speaker's eyes. The agent was violent in his action. It seems that the speaker was horrified at the action.

A similar example is

- 18b bIyantsiNgh's indraagaandhIn jiaati piTIas- ci?ccas
 biyantsingh indiragandhi.acc.life.out.kill GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.mas.)(pst.3.sg.mas.)
 'Biyant Singh killed Indira Gandhi'(perf./violent)

- 19 aakhIr aasIn bac?aan- ci?ccan
 at last I.fem. tell GIVE
 (pst.1.sg.fem.)(pst.1.sg.fem.)
 'At last I told'(intensively done and got over with)

The speaker got self-satisfaction after doing the action. After much hesitation he told the thing he desired to and hence the satisfaction

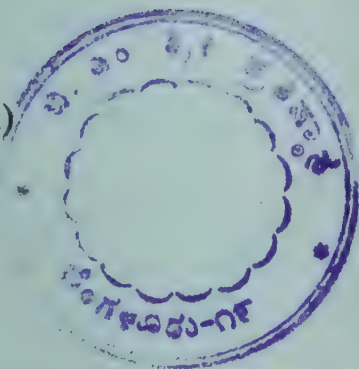
- 20a. aas asghI alxtaanaanU alkhIas-ci?ccas
 he his banter at laugh GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.mas.)(pst.3.sg.mas.)
 'He laughed at his bantering.'(extrovert action)

- 20b aas asghI alxtaananU ci:khIas-ci?ccas
 he his banter at cry GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.mas.)(pst.3.sg.mas.)
 'He cried at his bantering.'(extrovert action)

In this case, the action of the agent is extrovert i.e. externally seen. It is interesting to note that Kurux does not provide ECV for introvert action. Even the Kurux word equivalent to 'smile' when gets connected with ci?(V2) means an extrovert action.

- 20c meri eNgan erark, mUsmUsraa - ci?ccaa
 meri me see.cp. smile GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.fem)(pst.3.sg.fem)
 'Meri saw me and smiled'(extrovert action)

21. e:n aasIn pas?on -ci?on
 i.mas him kill GIVE
 (pst.1.sg.mas)(pst.1.sg.mas)
 'I shall kill you.'(contempt)



The speaker expresses his contempt threatening the object(you).
 What he means is not really to kill a person, but to show his contempt.

- 22a choTe baDaa xaddas jamaa dUdhin onDas-ci?ccas
 small big boy all milk drink GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.mas)(pst.3.sg.mas)
 'Such a little boy drank all the milk.'(surprise)

- 22b meri odxem ormi aasmaan moxaa - ci?ccaa
 meri single all bread eat GIVE
 (pst.3.sg.fem)(pst.3.sg.fem)
 'Only Meri ate all the bread.'(surprise)

In 22a. and 22b. the speaker expresses his astonishment towards the work done by the subjects of the sentences. He relates the quality of the agents to their action.

23. haae e:n endar nanjakan-ci?cckan
 excl.I.mas. what do GIVE
 (pst.1.sg.mas.)(pst.1.sg.mas.)
 'Hae! what I did'(regret)

The speaker regrets his work after doing it. He feels that his deed is not correct or legitimate in a certain context.

24. nIn gllaasan endarge khUTkaae-ci?cckaae
 you.erg.glass why break GIVE
 (pst.2.sg.fem)(pst.2.sg.fem)
 'Why did you break the glass' (anger)

ECV in the above interrogative sentence serves the purpose of conveying the speaker's anger at 'breaking glass'. The purpose is not to yield an answer from its agent but to express his 'anger' towards the agent's action.

25. nIn eNghaae puru kam?oe-ci?oe
 you me mad make GIVE
 (fut.2.sg.fem)(fut.2.sg.fem)
 'you will make me mad' (exasperation/disgust)

The meaning denoted by the ECV above is rather complicated. Suppose a child is crying ceaselessly for a doll and the doll is not readily available and then mother expresses her exasperation in this way. In fact, the speaker will not go mad.

26. nIn eNgaage onTaa sweTar kam?oe-ci?oe
 you me for one sweater knit GIVE
 (fut.2.sg.fem)(fut.2.sg.fem)
 'will you (please) knit a sweater for me'
 (other benefaction)

The speaker asks someone (the subject of the sentence) if he or she will be able to knit a sweater for him. The sweater to be knitted will not be for the knitter but for the person who asks for it.

Kaal

- 27a e:n eDpaa kaalaa lagdan
 i. mas. home go pr.prog.
 'I am going home'
- 27b e:n khatarkan
 i.mas. fall . pst.1.sg.mas.
 'I fell down'
- 27c e:n khatarkan kerkan
 i fall.pst.1.sg.mas GO. pst.1.sg.mas
 'I fell down' (completion & unexpectedness)

27a. and 27b. show the independent entity of two verbs which are in V1 + V2 form in 27c. The truth value (true or false) of 27b. does not change in 27c. but the explicator 'ker'(kaal) attaches meaning of completion and expectedness to the main verb at the semantic level. While 27b. tells only about the event, 27c. tells about the nature of the event in addition.

'kaal' assigns other meanings like suddenness, non-volition and undesirability.

28. e:n kaanUm kaanUm ij?kan kerkan
 i walking walking stop GO

(pst.1.sg.mas)(pst.1.sg.mas)
 'I stopped while walking '(suddenness)

Suddenly I saw something unexpected and stopped on my way.
 'kaal assigns this additional meaning (suddenness) to 'stop' the main verb.

29a asan maaxaanu nadan eraarki ilcias-keras
 he night-at ghost see.cp. be dumbfounded GO.
 (pst.3.sg.mas.)(pst.3.sg.mas.)
 'He was dumbfounded on seeing a ghost at night'
 (without volition)

29b xaddasIn becnUm becnUm laqiaa-keraa
 child.acc. playing playing hurt GO
 (pst.3.sg.neut)(pst. 3.sg.neut)
 'The child got hurt while playing'
 (non- volitional)

A person (here 'he') became spellbound without his will to be so. It happened automatically and this meaning is assigned by the explicator. It becomes clear in 29b. The child was not willing to get hurt but he got.

30. cep bar?aaIagi annUhuu miraa peT cail-keraa
 rain aux. pst.progressive conj meera bazaar walk
 GO (pst.3.sg.fem)(pst.3.sg.fem)
 'Though it was raining, meera walked to the
 bazaar'(undesirability)

Meera's going out in rain was not desirable still she went to bazar. The explicator changes a simple event 'walked' to 'undesirable walked'. If we establish a relationship between the subject (Meera) who did the work (walked) and the speaker of the expression, then it is clear that the subject did the work against the will of the speaker.

xacc

- 31a e:n barckan
 I come . pst.1.sg.mas
- 31b apan majhinU xaaccaae to kaTIg
 rope acc. middle from break if right
 'Break the rope from the middle'(emphasis)
- 31c aar jamaan ondraar ki barac-xaacciyar
 they all belongings take.cp.come BREAK
 (pst.3.pl.)(pst.3.pl.)
 'They came with all belongings'
 (no possibility of going back)

31a. and 31b. show the independent status of 'xacc' and 'bar' and their primary lexical meanings. 31c. gives delexicalised form of 'xacc' vis-a-vis the semantic meaning. 'xacc' adds the meaning of irreversibility viz. not going back or not doing the same work done a short while ago. This will be further clarified in the following example.

- 31d e:n manDi onDa-xaccian ki Urxan
 I food eat BREAK started journey
 (pst..prt.1.sg.fem.)(pst.prt.1.sg.fem.)
 'I ate food and started journey'
 (perfectivity/irreversibility in a near future)

The action 'eating' is completed a short while ago and there is no possibility of eating again in the near future. After eating, the agent is fully satisfied that for the near future he has nothing to worry about his hunger. So the meaning of perfectivity is also attached to it.

bi

- 32a manDi bi?ccaa kaa mal bi ?cckire?i
 food cooked or neg. cooked
 'Is the food cooked' (or not cooked)
- 32b e:n moTaa-jhoTaa nan?jaanki barcim bi?cciaan
 i luggage pack up.cp. come COOK
 (pst.1.sg.fem.)(pst.1.sg.fem.)
 'I packed up my luggage and came'
 (possibility. of going back)

bi? has a definite lexical meaning 'cook', evident from 32a. It attaches a rather interesting meaning to its main verb. 32b. means that the subject was required to stay there but he could not stay. After coming back he feels sorry for it. Probably situation compelled him to come back. The possibility of going back can not be ruled out.

bi? is restricted to only one V1(bar.) It can not occur with any other V1.

- *32c e:n moTaa nanjaanki cail-bi?cckan
 I luggage pack up .cp.walk COOK
 (pst.1.sg.mas.)(pst.1.sg.mas.)
 'I walked back'

kudd

- 33a sita kuddaali
 sita .fem.wander.pst.3.sg.fem.
 'Sita wandered'

33b e:n biddikan

I. mas. search.pst.1.sg.mas.

'I searched'

33c e:n beddaa kuddakan

I search.pst.1.sg. WANDER pst. 1. sg. mas.

'I searched'(desperately went on searching, probability of not finding it.)

33d nin aasan kaalarki kicrin beddkay-kuddkay

you fem there go- cp clothes search.WANDER

(pr.2.sg.fem)(pr.2.sg.fem)

'You go there and search clothes'

(go on searching probability of not finding the clothes)

When 'kudd' acts as a V2 in an ECV it attaches the meaning as shown above. In 33c. the subject went on searching, probably he would not get what he looked for. In 33d. 'she' is directed to search relentlessly but there is little hope of her finding the clothes there.

Following examples will further clarify the fact that 'kudd', as an explicator gets delexicalised. It loses its lexical meaning 'roam around' or 'wander'.

33e nIn Tebal meyAA pothin beddkay-kuddkay

you table on book search WANDER

(pr.2.sg.fem)(pr.2.sg.fem)

'You search the book on the table'

33f e:n xaDkaanU kicrin beddaa-kuddakan

I self-like-place clothes search WANDER

(pst.1.sg.mas)(pst.1.sg.mas)

'I search the clothes in the shelf'

In 33e. the agent, is not moving here and there while searching the book on the table. Likewise in 33f. the agent looks for his clothes in a definite place (the shelf) without roaming around. 'kudd' is restricted and occurs only with 'bedd' as V1.

+ sentence taken from Subbarao (1979) Secondary Verbs in Telugu
IJDL 8:2

! sentence used from secondary source

@ sentence taken from Bhat (1979) vectors in Kannada IJDL 8:2

sentence taken from Gopalakrishnan Devi (1985) Verb sequence in Malayalam. Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, JNU

\$ sentence used from primary source (as a native speaker)

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CLASSIFICATION OF VOCABULARY BY THE GRAMMARIANS OF MAJOR DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

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The Indo-Aryan vocabulary in the Major Dravidian languages is so large even to argue that they developed from the language of the Gods, i.e., Sanskrit. According to the ideas of the orthodox scholars of Sanskrit both in the North and the South of India, the Dravidian languages too came into being through a modification of Sanskrit.⁽¹⁾ This is the popular view expressed by some of the grammarians of Telugu.⁽²⁾ where as those of Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam will not accept Sanskrit origin of their languages.

All the grammarians of the Major Dravidian Languages attempted classification of vocabulary in their grammatical works. But they have no clear conception of classification, i.e., the grammarians of these languages will not show unanimity regarding some of the divisions of the vocabulary. Moreover they do not have unanimity of opinion regarding the classification of vocabulary. This paper is intended to review briefly the classification of vocabulary in the grammars of Major Dravidian Languages and to draw out some conclusions.

Tamil is the first among the Dravidian languages to get literary status and Kannada follows the next. Telugu occupies the third place in the antiquity and Malayalam is the fourth. The classification of vocabulary is reviewed in this order.

Tamil

Tolkappiyam is the first grammatical treatise in Tamil Language. Its author is Tolkappiyanar, who is named after his work. In this work there are three chapters namely *eluttatikāram*, *collatikāram* and *porulatikāram*. Among these the second chapter deals with the vocabulary. The ninth sub-chapter of *collatikāram* contains sixty seven miscellaneous rules. The five

rules, out of these sixty seven deal with the 'tadbhavas'. In rule 397 the author gives a classification of the vocabulary.⁽³⁾ He says that the words used in poetry are classified into four categories. They are 'iyarcol', 'tiricol', 'ticaiccol' and 'vaṭacol'. Cenavaraiyar, a commentator of Tolkappiyam (14th century A.D.), explains that plain words employed in ordinary speech are 'iyarcol'. That is to say they are the native words used in Tamil land⁽⁴⁾ and 'tiricol' is the vocabulary used in literary works which is of two types. 1. synonyms and 2. polysemy.⁽⁵⁾ Cenavaraiyar further explains that 'ticaiccol' is the vocabulary borrowed into Tamil from the twelve 'nāṭūs' inside the borders of Tamil land. Cenavaraiyar accepted the opinion of Ilampuranar, an early commentator of Tolkappiyam, who belongs to the 10th century A.D. But he differs with Ilampuranar, who mentions the twelfth 'nāṭu' as 'Poṅkār' instead of 'Potuṅkar.'

Teyvacciliyar, another commentator of Tolkappiyam does not mention any of the lists of twelve 'nāṭūs' of Ilampuranar or Cenavaraiyar. He gives a separate list of names of areas surrounding the borders of Tamil land.

Naccinarkkiniyar, a latter commentator of Tolkappiyam⁽⁶⁾ says that the twelve 'nāṭūs' in the first list are inside the Tamil land and those of the second list of Teyvacciliyar are outside 'nāṭūs' surrounding the borders of Tamil speaking area. He says that according to the first list 'ticaiccol' is the vocabulary or dialects inside the Tamil land. According to the second list 'ticaiccol' is the dialect differences of Tamil in the areas surrounding the Tamil land. But S. Anavaratanayakam Pillai describes 'ticaiccol' as the vocabulary borrowed from languages spoken all around.⁽⁷⁾

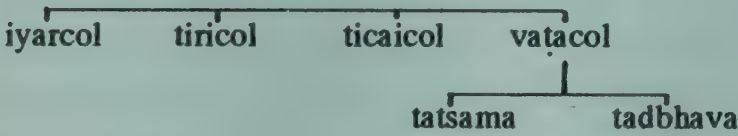
The vocabulary that came from North is 'vaṭacol' i.e., northern vocabulary. Both Cenavaraiyar and Naccinarkkiniyar gave only Sanskrit roots for 'vaṭacol'. That means that they considered Sanskrit as the basis for the 'tadbhavas' in Tamil. But Teyvacciliyar, a latter commentator of Tolkappiyam gave Prakrit roots also for some words in the vocabulary of 'vaṭacol'. P.S. Subramanya Sastry,⁽⁸⁾ a modern commentator of Tolkappiyam, supports the opinion of Teyvacciliyar and states that both Sanskrit roots for Sanskrit words and Prakrit roots for Prakrit words in Tamil should be given in etymologies for 'vaṭacol'.

Nannul is another grammar in Tamil, written by Pavananti (Bhavanandi) of the twelfth century A.D. In the chapter 'vaṭamoḷiyākkam' he dealt with the 'tadbhavas'. In this chapter, he narrated the phonetic changes

relating to 'tadbhavas' in five rules.⁽⁹⁾ He gives the roots for these words from Sanskrit. Therefore he uses the word 'vaṭamoli' for the words from Sanskrit into Tamil. We can conclude that he also felt that Sanskrit is the original for all the Aryan words in Tamil.

A commentator of Nannul, says S. Anavaratanayakam Pillai,⁽¹⁰⁾ employs the words 'tatsama' and 'tadbhava' in a different way. He uses the word 'tatsama' for the words formed of letters common to Sanskrit and Tamil. These are the Sanskrit words without any change except in the case of terminations. He explains that 'tadbhavas' are the words formed of the letters peculiar to Sanskrit as well as those common to Sanskrit and Tamil, and corrupted to a greater extent from the original Sanskrit. Dr. Pope⁽¹¹⁾ translates 'tatsamas' as unmodified words and 'tadbhavas' as modified words.

Anavaratanayakam Pillai finally concludes that the Sanskrit original should be traced first for 'tadbhavas' and then the etymology should be given for Sanskrit words from Sanskrit and for Prakrit words from Prakrit. The classification of vocabulary in Tamil can be shown in the following table:



Kannada

The rules formed by Kannada grammarians are practically translations of the rules of 'Prakrita Praksa' with slight modifications to suit the genius of Kannada Language. Early Kannada grammarians classified the vocabulary into four categories. Those are 'Samasamskr̥ta' (phonetically unchanged words from Sanskrit), 'Samskr̥tasama' (Kannada word in Sanskrit), 'tadbhava' or 'apabhramsa' (modified words) and *dēsi* (native vocabulary). 'Dēsi' is also called as 'accagannada'. 'Samasamskr̥ta' is the vocabulary of direct borrowings from Sanskrit. The term 'Samasamskr̥ta' was first employed by *Nṛpatunga* (814-877 A.D.) in his '*Kavirājamārga*'.⁽¹²⁾ Nagavarma, the author of the grammatical work '*Karnāṭabhāṣabhūṣaṇam*'⁽¹³⁾ in Sanskrit (1145 A.D.) and in '*Kavyāvalōkana*'⁽¹⁴⁾ written in Kannada Language, used this term. According to these grammarians Sanskrit borrowings without any phonetic changes are 'Samasamskr̥ta' words.

The term 'tatsama' is used by the Kanarese grammarians in a special sense. These are the Kannada words accepted in Sanskrit dictionary. *Kēśiraja*, the author of '*Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*'⁽¹⁵⁾ (1260 A.D.) gives a list of twenty one 'tatsama' words in his work. This type of division is not found in any grammar of the Major Dravidian Languages.

'*Dēśi*' is the native vocabulary of Kannada Language. Nagavarma, in his work '*Chandōmbudhi*'⁽¹⁶⁾ (1000 A.D.) uses this term. *Kēśiraja* uses this term many a time in his work. But none of the Kanarese grammarians ventured to define '*Dēśi*' clearly in their works.

The terms '*apabhraṃśa*' and '*tadbhava*' are used as synonyms in '*Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*'⁽¹⁷⁾. But almost all the grammarians of Kannada Language used frequently the term '*apabhraṃśa*' only. They all named the chapter dealing with '*tadbhavas*' as '*apabhraṃśa Prakāraṇa*'. *Nāgavarma* did not clearly explain about '*tadbhavas*' in his work. But in '*yusmadā-dividhāna*' the rules 116,117,118 and 122 explain some of the phonetic changes relating to '*apabhraṃśa*'. By this explanation, it is clear that Nagavarma opined that Sanskrit as the basis for all the *tadbhavas* in Kannada. *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, which deals the *apabhraṃśa* in 41 rules also states Sanskrit as the root of *tadbhavas*. *Sūtranvayaratnamāla* by Linganaradhya, a commentary for '*Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*' also expresses the same opinion. 'A grammar of the ancient dialect of Kanarese Language' is a prose commentary of '*Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*'. This work contains twelve chapters, out of which the seventh chapter deals with the *tadbhavas* in fifty one rules. All these rules resemble the commentaries of Linganaradhya. Krishnamacharya, in his work, 'A Grammar of the Modern Canarese Language'⁽¹⁸⁾ considers the Sanskrit and Tamil uncorrupted borrowings as '*tatsamas*' and those of corrupted as '*tadbhavas*'. This is some what partially correct view. But this division should include the borrowings from all the languages. Moreover he did not consider the Prakrit words.

Kittel, in his grammar⁽¹⁹⁾ devotes a whole chapter for corrupt forms from Sanskrit only. Spencer, the author of the book 'A Kanarese Grammar' deals with these words. Even these Europeans, who have modern outlook, did not recognise the Prakrit words and consider Sanskrit as the basis for all the *tadbhavas* in Kannada. Kannada kaipidi,⁽²⁰⁾ published by the University of Mysore, mentions that some *tadbhavas* are derived from Prakrit also. The classification of vocabulary in Kannada is shown in a table below:

Kannada Language

<i>Dēśi</i> <i>accagannāḍa</i> (native vocabulary)	<i>Samskr̥tasama</i> (uncorrupted Sanskrit words)	<i>apabhram̐śa</i> (corrupted Sanskrit words)	<i>tatsama</i> (Kannada words in Sanskrit)
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Krishnamacharya's classification of Kannada vocabulary
Kannada Language

<i>Dēśi</i> (<i>accagannāḍa</i> native vocabulary)	<i>tatsama</i> (Sanskrit and Tamil uncorrupted words)	<i>tadbhava</i> (Sanskrit and Tamil corrupted words)
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Telugu

The Telugu grammarians classified the vocabulary into 'tatsama', 'tadbhava' 'dēśya' and 'grāmya'. This classification is the result of the influence of Prakrit grammars on Telugu' says Sri Korada Rama Krishnaiah in his book '*Bhāṣācāritraka Vyāsamulu*'.⁽²¹⁾ Prof. G.K. Somayaji⁽²²⁾ also narrates in his monumental work '*Andhra Bhāsha Vikāsamu*' how far Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars influenced the Telugu grammars. In addition to the classification of Prakrit grammarians 'grāmya' is the contribution of Telugu grammarians. According to the classification of the Telugu grammarians 'Tatsamas'⁽²³⁾ are the vocabulary of Sanskrit and Prakrit that have not undergone any phonetic changes. Tadbhavas⁽²⁴⁾ are the vocabulary of Sanskrit and Prakrit in Telugu that have undergone phonetic changes. *Dēśya*⁽²⁵⁾ is the native vocabulary and 'grāmya'⁽²⁶⁾ is the substandard.

The early grammarians like Vinnakota Peddana, author of '*kavyāṅkārā Cūdāmaṇi*'⁽²⁷⁾ and Kakunuru Appakavi, who wrote the '*Appakaviyumu*'⁽²⁸⁾ considered even Telugu as one of the Prakrits. Ketana, perhaps the first grammarian of Telugu, says that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages. At the same time he admits that Telugu has some native vocabulary also. Prof. Toomati Donappa gave a table of thirty seven grammars and the classification of vocabulary in them in his thesis⁽²⁹⁾. By this list it is clear that all the grammarians used the same technical terminology with slight changes. 'Vaikṛta', 'ācchika' and 'accatanugu' are used as synonyms in

Telugu grammars for the native vocabulary combined with the tadbhavas from Sanskrit and Prakrit. 'Andhra Śabdacintāmaṇi', 'Bālavyākaraṇamu' and other grammars use this terminology. But Mancella Vāsudeva Kavi (18th century A.D.), the author of 'vikṛtīvivēkamu' is the first among the Telugu grammarians to call Sanskrit and Prakrit words that have undergone phonetic changes as 'vaikṛta's. Bahujanapalli Sitaramacharyulu adds Prakrit equivalents also to this list of tadbhavas.

There are two schools among the Telugu grammarians regarding the etymologies of tadbhavas. Those who derive the etymologies for all tadbhavas in Telugu, from Sanskrit are of the first type. *Mulaghaṭika Ketana*, *Vinnakota Paddana*, *Ananta*, *Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi*, *Kucimanci Timmana*, *Adidamu Surana* etc. belong to this school.

The grammarians of the latter school derive the etymologies for the 'Sanskrita bhava's from Sanskrit and for 'Prakrita sama's and 'Prakrita bhava's from Prakrit. This school consists of the grammarians namely the author of 'Andhra Śabdacintāmaṇi', *Elakuci Balasaraswathy*, *Appa Kavi*, *Mancella Vasudeva Kavi*, *Ahobala*, *Paravastu Chinnayasuri*, *Vedamu Pattabhi Rama Sastry*, *Paduri Sita Rama Sastry* etc.

The grammarians of both the schools consider Prakrita samas as 'vaikṛta's instead of 'tatsamas'. Prof. T. Donappa followed the second school and listed out 2318 *vaikṛtas*. Prof. Donappa after examining the grammars in Telugu arrived at the following conclusions in his thesis.

1. There is no unanimity of opinion among the Telugu grammarians in creating technical terminology or proving etymologies.
2. The technical terminology of 'tatsama', 'tadbhava' and 'dēśya' are the result of the influence of Prakrit grammarians on Telugu. In addition to the Prakrit grammatical terminology 'grāmya' is added by Telugu grammarians to represent the substandard language.
3. Some of the technical terms like 'sahajāndhra dēśbhavamū', 'dēśyōdbhavamū', 'suddhāndara dēśyamū', 'accatenugu' and alike are created by Telugu grammarians.
4. The word 'vaikṛta' for tadbhavas is employed first by Mancella Vasudeva Kavi. The early grammarians used 'ācchika' for

vaikṛta. Bahujanapalli Sita Ramacharyulu gave wide publicity to the term '*vaikṛta*'.

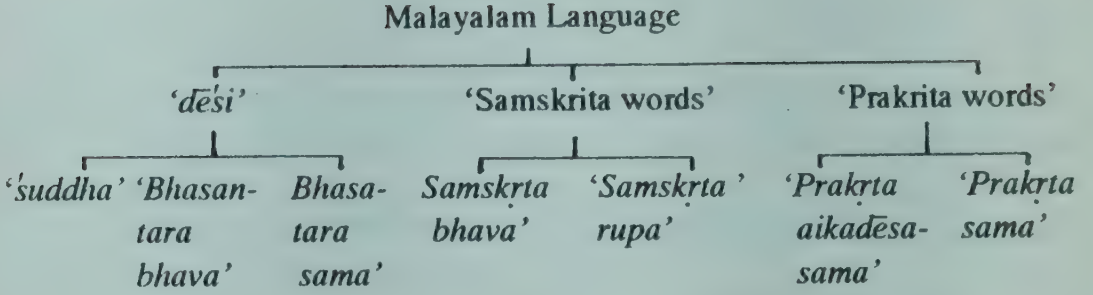
5. As mentioned above there are two schools of grammarians in Telugu basing on their method of deriving the etymologies.
6. Some of the rules framed by the grammarians are imperfect.
7. There are eleven types of mistakes.⁽³⁰⁾

The classification of vocabulary in Telugu is shown in the following table:

Telugu Language			
'tatsamamu'	'tadbhavamū'	'dē'syamū'	'grāmyamū'
(Sanskrit and Prakrit uncorrupted vocabulary)	(Sanskrit and Prakrit corrupted vocabulary)	(native vocabulary)	(colloquial substandard)
<hr/> 'accatenugu' 'vikṛiti', ācchikamū'			

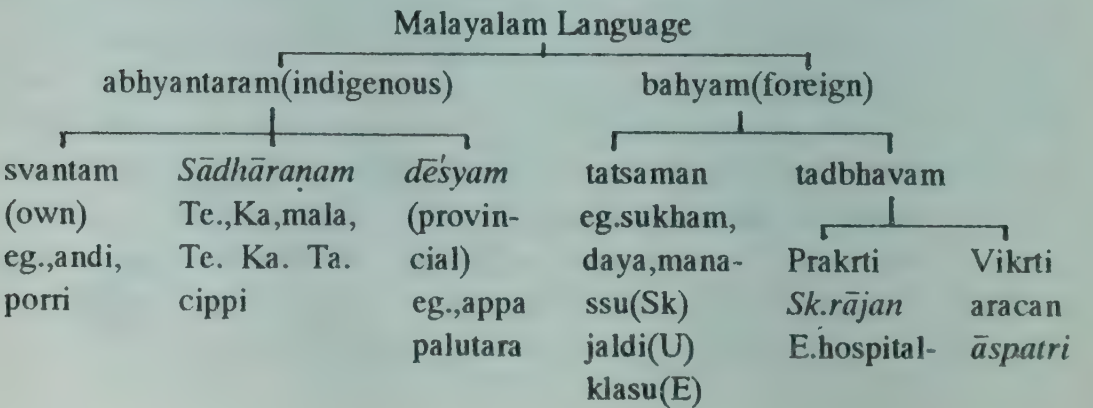
Malayalam

Malayalam comes last in the development of literature among the Major Dravidian Languages. '*Lilātilakam*' by an anonymous author was written in the fourteenth century A.D. This grammatical treatise contains four chapters. The second chapter among them, discusses about the vocabulary. The author says that in poetic composition three kinds of languages are used namely '*dē'si*', '*samskṛatabhava*' and '*samskṛatarūpa*'. '*Dē'si*' is further subdivided into '*suddha*', '*bhāṣantharabhava*' and '*bhāṣānthara sama*'. '*Suddha*' words are pure indigenous words and '*bhāṣāntharabhavas*' are corrupted forms from languages other than Sanskrit. But '*bhasantharasamas*' are the uncorrupted words found in the sister language. Sanskrit words with Malayalam terminations are '*samskṛatarūpas*' and those Sanskrit words which changed in forms are '*Samskṛatabhavas*'. He also mentions that there are '*Prakṛita samas*' and '*Prākṛtaikadē'sasamas*'. '*Prakṛitasamas*' are uncorrupted forms with Malayalam terminations and '*Prākṛtaikadē'sasamas*' are the Prakrit words having phonetic changes i.e., '*tadbhavas*'. The classification of vocabulary in *Lilātilakam* is shown in the following table:



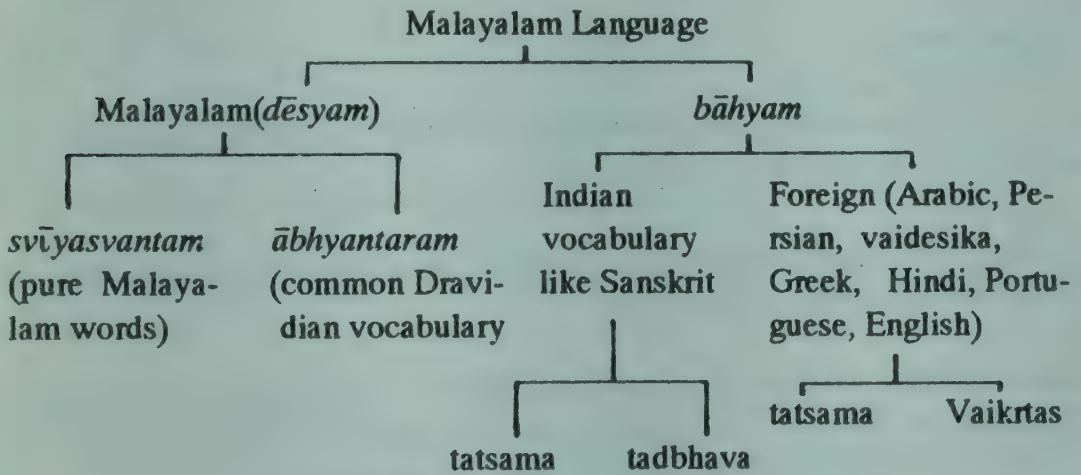
‘Kēṛalapāṇiniyam’⁽³¹⁾ is another grammar, written by A.R. Rajaraja Varma. Its first edition was published in 1896. Its second revised and enlarged edition was published in 1917 and ever since it has not been superseded by any other grammatical work in importance and magnitude. Rajaraja Varma wrote ‘Śabdaśōdhini’⁽³²⁾ and ‘Madhyama Vyākaraṇam’ also. He gives an exhaustive classification of Malayalam vocabulary in ‘Kēṛalapāṇinīyam’ and ‘Śabdaśōdhini’. The vocabulary is divided mainly into two parts 1. ‘ābhyantara’ and 2. ‘bāhya’. ‘ābhyantara’ deal with the indigenous vocabulary, which is further sub-divided into three categories viz., 1. svantam; 2. ‘sādharaṇam’ and 3. ‘dēśyam’. Among these three ‘svantam’ is pure Malayalam word, ‘sādharaṇam’ is the vocabulary common to Dravidian Languages i.e., Telugu, Kannada and Tamil, ‘dēśyam’, according to this grammarian, is the colloquial or provincial vocabulary i.e., the dialectical vocabulary of Malayalam.

The second part ‘bāhyam’ is further sub-divided into ‘tatsama’ and ‘tadbhava’. In tatsama, he includes all the uncorrupted words in Malayalam from languages other than Dravidian. In this, he gives examples not only from Sanskrit but also from English and Persian. Similarly the other division ‘tadbhavas’ are the corrupted forms from languages like Sanskrit and English. He gives this classification in the following table in his ‘śabdaśōdhini’.⁽³³⁾



'Vyakaranamitram' is another important grammatical work in Malayalam. The author of this work, M. Seshagiri Prabhu (1855-1924), was the Principal, Government Training School, Rajahmundry for some time. In this work, Malayalam vocabulary is classified into two categories.⁽³⁴⁾ The first category is indigenous vocabulary and the second is 'vaidēsīkam'. In the first category pure Malayalam vocabulary is called 'svīyasvantam' and the vocabulary common to Dravidian Languages is 'ābhyantaram'. According to this author all the vocabulary excluding foreign is Dravidian.

The second main division is 'bāhyam' which contains vocabulary from languages other than Dravidian. 'Bāhyam' is further sub-divided into two parts. The first deals with the words from Indian Languages like Sanskrit, which is further classified into 'tadbhavas' and 'tadsamas'. The another subdivision is 'vaidesikam' which deals with foreign languages like English. This subdivision is further classified into 'tatsama' and 'vaikṛta'. 'Tatsamas' are the uncorrupted foreign words whereas 'vaikṛtas' are corrupted foreign words. The classification in 'vyākaranamitram' can be shown in a table in the following way.



'Kerala Kaumudi' is another famous grammatical work, written by T.M. Kovunni Nedungadi (1831-1889). This work was first published in 1878 and the last edition came in 1930. This grammatical work contains 16 chapters. The fifth chapter 'śabdālōka' deals with the division of words. In this chapter words are classified into three categories viz., 'tatsama', 'tadbhava' and 'dēśya'. 'Dēśya' includes the pure Malayalam words along with the dialects. According to him 'tatsamas' are uncorrupted words from 'Sanskrit and 'tadbhavas' are corrupted words from Sanskrit. He also recognises the foreign loans like 'kacceri' from Marathi language and 'kōrtu' from English language.

But as the foreign words are not found in the old library works he omitted them from his classification.

'*Malayala Bhāṣa Vyākaraṇam*' by Gundert (1814-1893) was published in 1868. He divided the book into three chapters, namely '*akṣarakāṇḍa*' (on letters), '*padakāṇḍa*' (on words) and '*vācaka kāṇḍa*' (on sentences). In the second chapter, which deals with words, he deals with the tadbhavas. He too gives etymologies for tadbhavas from Sanskrit only.

'*Malayālmayūṭe vyākaranam*' by Rev. George Mathan (1819-1870) was published in the year 1863. This work is mainly divided into two parts, 1. '*akṣaralakṣaṇa kāṇḍa*' and 2. '*padalakṣaṇa kāṇḍa*'. In the fifth canto of the second part, he deals with the classification of words. He calls this division as origin of nouns and classifies the word into three categories. 1. '*mūlanāmas*'; 2. '*taddhitanāmas*' and 3. '*samāsanāmas*'. In the subdivision '*mulanamas*' he mentions three types of words namely 1. pure Malayalam words; 2. words common to Malayalam and Tamil and 3. tadbhavas. He also shows Sanskrit as the original for the tadbhavas.

Conclusions:

After examining the grammars in the Major Dravidian Languages, we can arrive at the following conclusions:

1. There is no coincidence in classification of vocabulary among grammarians of the Major Dravidian Languages.
2. Their views are correct as far as the native vocabularies are concerned. '*Dēśyamu*' in Telugu, '*dēśi*' in Kannada, '*iyarcol*' in Tamil and '*svantam*' or '*dēśi*' in Malayalam indicate indigenous vocabulary.
3. '*Tatsama*' in Telugu and '*samasamskrta*' in Kannada, '*tatsama*' (a subdivision of *vaṭacol*) in Tamil, and '*samskr̥tarūpa*' in Malayalam are equivalents. Some of the Telugu grammarians recognised '*prakṛita samas*' as '*tatsamas*'. But sometimes they mixed them in '*tadbhavas*'. In this division Prakrit equivalents should also be recognised.
4. Some of the early grammarians of Telugu, all the grammarians of Kannada, all the grammarians and commentators of Tamil and all the grammarians in Malayalam except the author of '*Lilātilakam*' showed Sanskrit as the

original form for 'tadbhava'. But it should be separated into two parts i.e., words from Sanskrit and words from Prakrit.

5. There is no clear-cut idea of loan words among the grammarians of Major Dravidian Languages.

6. All the loan words from all languages should be classified into two categories namely modified words (tadbhavas) and unmodified words (tat-samas).

Foot Notes

1. Chatterji, S.K., Dravidian, p.12.

2. *Andhrabhāṣabhūṣaṇamu* 7 *Appakavīyam*, 1. 75.

3. iyarcol, tiricol, ticaicol, *vaṭacol*, *enru* anaitte ceyyul ittaccolle. *Collatikāram* 397 *Tolkāppiyam*.

4. rule 399, Ibid.

5. rule 400, Ibid

6. A commentry on *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram*, p. 8.

7. Anavaratanayakam Pillai, S., Dravidic Studies, p.84.

8. Subramanya Sastry, P.S., *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* with English commentary.

9. Nannul rules, 146 to 150.

10. Anavaratanayakam Pillai, S., Dravidian Studies, p. 84.

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Book Review.

OBEYESEKERE, Gananath: *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*; (First Edition, Chicago 1984), First Indian Edition: Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1987. Pp xvii + 628; price : Rs. 400/.

This book has been widely hailed as a landmark study on folk religion and the mythology of a goddess spread through different cultures and two great religious traditions. The dust cover contains the following comments of the great scholar of the mythology of Siva, Wendy O'Flaherty: "... It is in a sense several books rolled into one: a history of kinship and religion in Sri Lanka; a collection of rituals never described before; important texts ... translated and interpreted ... ; a sociological analysis of family structures in contemporary Sri Lanka ... ; and a Freudian interpretation of the meaning of the myths and rituals as they arose from and in turn affect the tensions of the nuclear family ..." This appreciation is in no way an exaggeration. Quite rightly, the book has been considered a classic on Religion.

As is well known, Pattini under the name Kannagi is the heroine of *Cilappadikaaram*, the great Tamil classic. Her cult was once spread over S. India, especially Kerala, where at Vanchi, She established Her abode. With the spread of Pan-Hinduistic belief systems, the cult in India merged in the "Great" tradition; She was transformed to Kaali and Parvathi, the wife of Siva. In the Theravada Buddhist tradition of Sri Lanka, Pattini has been accommodated high up in the hierarchy of the "Future Buddhas"; the cult is very popular, with a complex mythology in many layers, associated with a literature of worship determining several ritual performances. The analysis of these factors reveals, layer by layer, several aspects of the life and culture of the people and their interactions with people of other cultures. This is the main topic of the book. Obeyesekere expands on it to examine several assumptions made by historians in India as well as Sri Lanka and casts doubts on their validity, as, for example, of the "Gajabahu synchronism".

The book is in seven parts.

Part I is introductory, opening with a brief historical perspective of the Sri Lankan provinces in which the study is mainly based. He analyses the institution of the *kapurala*, the social background from which they are

drawn, and the virtually hereditary character of the succession. Pointing out that Sinhala culture everywhere has a theory of demon possession, he distinguishes between these and the Buddhist belief that "major gods are future Buddhas", under which such possession would be impossible. He concludes that the *kapurala* are not *shamans*, but priests.

Obeyesekere examines the basic problem of religious syncretism and postulates that the ubiquitous spread of the Pattini cult throughout rural Sri Lanka indicates that Pattini must have "displaced" traditional indigenous deities. Cults associated with other deities were introduced into the *gammaduva* (= the traditional village ritual performance) Subsequently with associated hierarchies. The Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha are at the supreme level; the Buddha is the world ruler and the power that any other god may possess is subordinate to the Buddha. The idea of the *varan* is distinguished from the Hindu equivalent translation of "boon"; it is rather a "warrant" under which an elevated personage exercises supernatural but benevolent power over aspects of human life or the physical universe.

He lays down eight principles regulating the internal dynamics of the Sri Lankan Pantheon. Firstly, "whenever the Buddhist virtues of compassion and benevolence increase in the character of a god, there is a concomitant decrease in his punitiveness" This leads to the second, viz., that "the more benevolent and compassionate the god, the more remote he becomes in relation to the worshiper". Obeyesekere substantiates this by examining the character of the deities Natha, Vishnu, Saman (= Indra), and Kataragama (= Subrahmanya) in the Buddhist as contrasted to the Hindu counterparts. He also traces the diminishing role of Natha, the very next Maithreya Buddha, in human affairs as he becomes more benevolent and less punitive, as against the increasing importance of Kataragama, "the least associated with Buddhist virtues", nevertheless considered as a future Buddha. From this, it appears that "when major gods become further removed, others move up to take their places, the movement generally being from demonic to divine status" (Pp 64 - 70). Pattini is a "warrant-holder" like Kataragama.

Part II is a detailed description of the rituals and performances with critical translation of the texts used. The preparatory rites for the establishment of the place of worship in the village; the significance of the word *âtura* (= sufferer) with reference to the worshipers is traced back to the âyruvedic significance of the ritual. The propitiation of the various categories of deities and demons is reported in detail. The several myths according to which Pattini had seven births, in a mango, in a flower, etc., are examined. The similarities and differences between these and the *Cilappadikaaram* are critically examined.

An important chapter in this Part, in which the author innovates several theories, is entitled "Mythic Stratigraphy". Obeyesekere sets up his objective as the devising of "a method whereby we can unravel the several 'strata' of beliefs that constitute a living mythic tradition by first relating it to verifiable historical events...and then considering the content of the mythic tradition itself for evidence that elucidates historical and sociological process" (p 283). He sees in myth a holistic process in which historical processes are reflected or expressed in symbolic form. He resurrects the theory of "survivals" to interpret many transformations from an ethnohistorical or diachronic view-point, rather than from a less suitable functional and synchronic alternative. This facilitates his proposition: "If two versions of the same ritual, one a survival and the other functional, are performed in different regions of the same culture-sharing area, then the item that is functional represents the historical past of the item that is a survival" (p 285).

It is postulated that when the Pattini cult was introduced from S.India, "the first deity to be 'displaced' from the pantheon of the Twelve Gods was Kiri Amma", (= "milk mother"), a local mother goddess, in the sense that while the latter still is mentioned, Pattini has taken over much of the "sphere of influence" associated with this deity. Kiri Amma was worshiped as Maha Yakini by the Vedda and had a hoary tradition, pan- Sinhala in influence, but "... Kiri Amma will eventually go *totally* out of vogue in Sinhala culture ... Yet Kiri Amma continues to be propitiated, almost anachronistically and vestigially ..." (*Italics in the original*, p 294).

Part III should be of particular interest to South Indian scholars as a contrast is drawn between Sri Lankan traditions of Karikala, and his Pandyan contemporary. Karikala is represented as a good king who executes public works for the benefit of his people, while the latter is represented as having three eyes and sets up to rival the gods. In the inevitable conflict, Karikala wipes out the evil third eye of his rival. Obeyesekere feels that the basic myth is similar in both regions and that some form of ritual protest against the evil king existed all over S.India as well. However, two "models" of kingship are contrasted: one, the "Hindu-influenced notion of divine and cosmic kingship" and the second, "the Buddhist derived notion of the just king, originally represented in the paradigmatic case of Asoka" (p 360).

Obeyesekere agrees with S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (*History of Tamil Language & Literature*, Madras 1956) in challenging the validity of the Gajabahu synchronism which has been the basis for fixing the date of *Cilappadikaaram* and for much of S.Indian history. The epic mentions that Gajabahu(Kayavaaku) was present at Cenkuttuvan's capital for the consecration ceremony of the Pattini temple, and introduced the cult to Sri Lanka.

But the *Mahavamsa* and *Dipavamsa* make no reference to such an episode in relation to Gajabahu. Obeyesekere analyses the account given in 16th and 17th Century Sinhala accounts (eg., *Rajavaliya*), which mention Gajabahu's visit to S.India and his bringing back Pattini's anklet and twelve thousand people from there to settle in Sri Lanka, to expose this version as mythical, Gajabahu portrayed as a contemporary of the Buddha! According to our author, the explanation has to be sought in the psychological need to establish cult heroes who prevail over all others.

This psychological theory enables the author to innovate a model involving the "twin processes that occur in society and history - mythicization and demythicization". The former, mythicization, relates to the process by which historical personages are transformed into heroes and historical episodes into myths. The latter designates the reverse process of "historization" of myth, as examples of which are cited rationalizations of belief systems, selective cognition of traditional elements like the interpretation of Ravana's flight in a "peacock machine" as evidence of the local invention of the aeroplane and the acceptance wholesale of myths as fundamentally true, ie., fundamentalism.

Part IV distinguishes between two types of rituals, one controlled and with numinous content, labelled "ideal representations", and the second, including popular participation in vulgar, often obscene representations, labelled "catharses". The latter help the audience to participate vicariously in the situation acting out their psychic problems. A cathartic ritual could be the obverse of an ideal representation; Obeyesekere exemplifies this with the *Ankeliya* rituals and the scene in which the resurrection of Palaka is replaced by a parody entitled the "Killing of Rama". The ideal representation is not staged for fear of *vas*, viz., that evil consequences may befall the actors.

Part V continues this theme, and examines the cycle as a "projective system, that is, as a symbol system that gives expression to key personality problems or 'nuclear psychological constellations' of Hindus and Buddhists" with the caution that "... I must plead with the reader to accept the provisional nature of the interpretations offered in this part..."(p 425).

Obeyesekere points out that Hindu India and the regions of Southern Asia that have come under the influence of Hinduism have developed three models of the "Mother Goddess"; "first as the cow, passively and unconditionally nurturant, and second (the) vengeful, demonic and unpredictable ... Kali image ... Mediating between these two extreme images is a third image - the Parvati model - that is ... benevolent. This

image is that of the mother as 'father's wife', the faithful wife of the great god ..." (p 427). In Theravada Buddhism as practiced in Southeast Asia, there is no dominant mother goddess with the exception of Pattini in Sri Lanka which is closer to the Parvati model than the other two.

The theories are based on the Freudian premises of a "projective system" to explain why "family images are projected into the cosmos". Monotheistic religions inhibit mother goddess beliefs whereas in industrial cultures, the projection may be "diffuse" in the sense that they may remain idiosyncratic, spreading the maternal image onto mass media, popular literature, religion and politics. Even though Obeyesekere admits that data are inadequate, he proposes the causal nexus in South Asian contexts as: "the values of the society → the female role → mother-child relationship perception of the deity by the child" (p 429).

Comparisons are made with the ancient West Asian cults of the mother goddess and her dying son Adonis. The symbiotic relationship between mother and child and the erotic component of the resultant fixation can lead to many variations depending on the socialization level, one extreme case being the Australian subincision level where the male wishes to self-castrate ("vagina-envy"). The figure of the Virgin Mother Mary as *mater dolorosa* grieving over the limp body of Christ is contrasted with that of the Virgin Wife Pattini crying over the mutilated body of her husband/son Paalanga; her tearing away of her breast is interpreted as a female castration symbol. A distinction is drawn where the mother symbol as in the case of Valli is "degraded"; the singing of obscene songs during the Bharani festival at Kotungallur (Kerala) is cited as another example.

Obeyesekere discusses the "classical" anthropological dichotomy between guilt cultures and shame cultures pointing out that guilt feelings arise from incest and Oedipal conflicts, aggression against parental figures and sibling rivalries. The break up of village communities generates a "secondary guilt". Shame cultures arise from the fear of exposure of weaknesses before "others". In "Brahminical Hinduism", pollution notions often "have the effect of control mechanisms, invading the domain of shame and (secondary) guilt". (Buddhist) Sinhalas tend to handle their psychic conflicts through humor rather than through "the extreme forms of ... guilt ridden behaviour characteristic of Hindu society".

Part VI will be great interest to scholars of Dravidian culture, as it deals with the theories of the diffusion of the Pattini cult from West Asia to the Malabar coast and beyond. The mythic biography of the goddess is rooted in the heterodox religions of India, Buddhism, Jainism and Ajivika. With the decline of Buddhism in India after the 8th Century AD, they

settled in Sri Lanka's west coast bringing the Pattini cult with them. Another Hinduized wave from Kerala settled in the east coast for whom Pattini retains the quality of a folk deity without a "Kali" aspect. It was only with "the recent Sanskritization of the ... cult stemming from influences from the orthodox Shaivite North (Jaffna district)" that the Kali aspect comes to the fore. Obeyesekere cites the internal evidence of the epics *Cilappadikaarum* and *Manikekalai*, as well as an imposing array of scholars to show that the main characters were not Hindu but Buddhist or Jain. Pattini thus is not a Hindu goddess; as the "heterodox" religions do not admit of a mother goddess, her origin must be traced to the folk traditions of these areas.

Obeyesekere draws heavily on V.T Induchudan, *The Secret Chamber: A historical, Anthropological & Philosophical study of the Kodungallur Temple*, Cochin Devaswom Board, Trichur 1969) to trace the non-Hindu origins of the worship there. He highlights a "survival" which connects the Pattini cult of Sri Lanka with this temple, viz., a peculiar headdress, *mottäkkili* in Sinhala, worn during the ritual performance where the priest dresses himself like a contemporary Sinhala (or Kerala) woman but has a veil that falls behind almost to the hips. Obeyesekere found two stone sculptures in the Kodungallur temple showing exactly the same type of veil.

He also points out that it is not in Tamil Nadu but in Kerala that the greatest number and variety of survivals of the cult exist. With the gradual assimilation of the Jaina-Buddhist traditions into the Hindu fold, Pattini loses the *dolorosa* aspect and merges into the dominant mother goddess of Kerala, Bhadrakali. Kovalan, derived from Gopalaka, is retained as Palakan in Kerala, from which Palanga, the Sinhala variant which has no specific etymological meaning in that language, obviously arises. He supports this with extensive coverage of some myths still prevalent in Kerala, the *mutippura* songs of south Kerala (*torum paattu*), which invite comparison with the Sri Lankan *gammaduva*. He also shows how the Hindu elements of the Darika-Kali episode have been worked into the legend of Kannagi rather incongruously. The *pongala* festivals so popular in South Kerala have great similarity with the rituals for the "cooling of Pattini" in Sinhala and Sri Lankan Tamil traditions.

He then traces the Pattini cult as that of a Hindu deity in the matrilineal belt of Batticaloa, where the Batticaloa Tamils believe they originally came from Kerala, and surmises that this must have been before Malayalam branched off as a distinct language. A detailed description with translation of some of the songs is given of the cult rituals of the region.

He follows the Sanskritization of the myth in the east coast Tamil areas of the island taking village Tambiluvil for detailed study. He theorises that Palaka is an "unlikely" candidate for deification in the Sanskritized pantheon, and explains his gradual displacement by Ganesha as due to equivalent mythical "castration" for mother-fixation. The drive was initiated and forced by the elite who increasingly functioned as the agents of Sanskritization, even bringing in Brahmin priests!

Of interest to Kerala would be the description of the campaign successfully conducted by the "agents of Sanskritization" in Tambiluvil against the singing of obscene songs during the *kombu* festival presided over by Pattini's iconic representation. The dynamics are surprisingly similar to those adopted against the singing of obscene songs during the Bharani festival at Kodungallur!

Comment. It is difficult to criticize this exhaustive work - it contains such deep insights and authority, both derived from scholarship and painstaking field work. Wherever it is not supported by data, the author has willingly and disarmingly admitted the deficiency.

The "stratification of myths" would perhaps remain as the most outstanding contribution. The tracing of the process of Sanskritization from recent history in Tambiluvil is probably replicative of the earlier processes historically and successfully adopted in mainland India, and yet in progress in Kerala.

The weakest elements would be the psychological theorizations offered for the folk popularity of the Pattini/Kannagi tradition. The postulates about "shame" and "guilt" cultures in relation to these traditions and the communities which practice them are at best hypotheses which have to be proved by empirical studies.

There is no doubt that the book is certainly a landmark in the anthropological analysis of religion and "essential reading" for any serious student of these subjects

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'THE SERIAL VERB FORMATION IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES'

Sanford B. Steever. -1988. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi:

Price Rs. 100.00.)

Serial verb formation (SVF hereafter), though a fascinating topic of discussion among linguists and researchers in the African, Western, and Chinese languages, has not gained the attention it deserves among the Dravidian Linguists. This book on 'The Serial Verb Formation In The Dravidian Languages' therefore is a rare piece of work of its kind in the comparative Dravidian morphology and syntax. In this book the author tries to establish the existence of SVFs in Dravidian languages and to explain its inherent properties in terms of the rules that generate it. Further, it demonstrates how finiteness is used in coordinating morphology and syntax in Dravidian sentences. "A serial verb, according to him, is a structure in which two or more finite verb forms enter into construction, marking agreement among themselves". The author's task is to find out enough evidence to establish that this definition on SVFs is true in Dravidian languages too.

The book consists of a preface, conventions, list of tables and charts, a discussion on SVF spreading over seven chapters followed by notes, bibliography and index. In chapter one, he points out the different aspects of finiteness and its implications in Dravidian sentences. Here, he concentrates mainly on the close relationship between finiteness and sentence structure. In fact finiteness is taken as a grammatical property. Caldwell's (1956, reprinted 1976) observation on Dravidian languages generally and on Tamil specifically, that "in every sentence there is but one finite verb, which is the last word in the sentence and the seat of the government" and Spencer's (1985) remarks on Kannada reveal the same position about finite predicates in Dravidian sentences. Similar instances are quoted from *Kūi* by Winfield (1928). This indicates that most of the scholars are aware of the key role played by finite predicates in the construction of Dravidian sentences. At the same time, the author's view that the use of modern linguistic concept can further help us to refine the statements on the finite predicates in the Dravidian grammar makes it a synchronic study of the Dravidian language. The rule 1.(page5.) he has given for Dravidian finite predicates shows that there is a single finite

predicate for Dravidian sentences which stands at the extreme right boundary of the sentence, commands all other predicates and itself is commanded by none of them. Consequently, all other predicates in the sentence are non- finite.

The author's approach is systematic that he proceeds giving a sketch of Dravidian morphology and syntax . In the morphology section , he gives the nominal and verbal inflections. When it comes to syntax , he discusses the simple and complex sentences with examples from various languages. His observation in this section is that "finiteness is a syntactic property that is subsequently interpreted in morphological terms."

The possibilities of " multiple finite predicates" are discussed in the second chapter. Here, he introduces several principled exceptions to this rule and refines it through successive approximants. This chapter emphasizes the need for a further explanation of the grammatical properties of SVFs, before it can be accommodated in a revision of a rule that governs the distribution of finite predicates. The rule on finite predicates puts some restrictions on the occurrence of finite verbs. A revision of the rule is suggested to limit these restrictions. This is done by introducing two verbs *ā* 'become' and *en* - 'say/think' , whose exceptional grammatical properties allow them to circumvent this constraint in a clever way. Examples from different languages like Tamil, Kannada, *Konda*, *Kūi*, Kolami, Ollari, etc are taken to show that these two verbs share a common property that is peculiar in the verbs of the Dravidian languages i.e. they take as their direct object expressions of any category and internal complexity without imposing on them any morphological marking of their object hood. As Lakoff (1970) says "these verbs are negative absolute exceptions to case marking". Apart from this exceptional behaviour in case marking their is another factor, that they are verbs which enjoy all the formal and morphological privileges of that category. Those include of embedding them along with their objects in a larger syntactic structure and their functioning as complementisers and conjunctions. The author has exemplified his arguments with examples from different languages. In the second chapter he deals at length on the grammatical category of complementation in Dravidian by analysing the two sets of exceptions to rule -1. The exceptional statements are applied to Dravidian languages in general and to the daughter languages in particular. He presents a deep discussion on the connection between finiteness and sentence structure. Further, if the serial verb is truly a

characteristic of Dravidian grammar, it must be accommodated in a 'rule for the distribution of finite predicates' as given on page 36.

In chapter three, he looks into the possible integration of serial verbs in South Dravidian languages. The serial verbs by their definition is a construction that contains two or more finite verbs, and this can be identified in the family of verbal constructions. Here the compound verb constructions and the co-ordinate constructions are to be considered. Based on the evidence, he suggests that, the prototypical SVF is a compound verb while the remaining SVF are co-ordinate verb constructions. Structural properties of these co-ordinate constructions are most closely similar to the compound verb constructions. In this chapter he sets up a schematic rule that can cover many constructions in languages. This is a transformational rule which expresses the relationship of direct variation among the personal endings of the SVF's component verbs.

The historical development of SVF in Dravidian languages are done by analysing the individual languages. Starting from the classical Tamil (texts from *cankam* literature) he proceeds with the echo - SVFs in modern Tamil and the SVF in traditional Tamil grammar. According to him, "the use of SVF in classical Tamil declined during the medieval period so that it had virtually fallen from the language by the dawn of the early modern period". By the early modern period, a formally finite verb could appear only in the position reserved for finite predicates. Malayalam, he says, seems to have chosen a more radical way. This has effected in eliminating the tensions between the two treatments of finiteness. The subject - verb agreement rules are also lost. As a result, the sole criterion for the finiteness of a verb in the modern language is whether it appears in the position specially designated for finite predicates. Thus, he argues that the loss of SVF in Tamil and of the subject - verb agreement in Malayalam seems to be two expressions of the same historical process, differing only in degree. Tamil permits mostly the distribution of the personal endings in the position for finite predicates, but Malayalam mostly disallows them in their entire structure. But he remarks that only after an intensive study of the texts from the appropriate period; we can make some conclusions on what precipitated the above situations in Tamil and Malayalam. One or two things can be pointed out; since many languages retain SVFs, the tension between the two treatments of finiteness does not invariably precipitate changes to bring about the elimination of the SVF. Another thing, which is beyond doubt is that the simultaneous

loss of subject -predicate nominal agreement rules contributed to the down fall of SVF.

More on Tamil, the author says that it has a type of echo SVF in it. The presence of SVF in the traditional grammar was attested mainly from two texts Tolkappium and Nannul. Toda, Kota, Kannada and *Kodagu* are the other south Dravidian languages considered for the analysis. The author observes that evidence from Tamil, Kannada and *Kodagu* confirms the presence of SVF in south Dravidian. Traditional Tamil grammar acknowledge their presence and provide terminology for their analysis.

Chapter Four, looks for the presence of serial verbs in south central Dravidian Languages. Telugu, Muriagondi, *Konda*, Pengo and *Kūvi* are the languages under investigation. A detailed study on each language is done carefully. The analysis shows that SVF is well represented in the south central Dravidian group. Echo compound verbs are present and co-ordinate verb construction as well.

The central Dravidian languages discussed in chapter Five. are Parji, Kolami, and Ollari. They resemble the south Dravidian and south central Dravidian groups in the representation of the SVF. The survey is brief because of rare availability of published materials. For Parji he looks into the materials taken from Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953). It reveals two SVFs, one a coordinate verb construction and the other a balance compound verb. Though their occurrence is not very frequent, they are easily integrated into the Parji grammar. These central Dravidian languages are said to process the SVFs as compound verbs and as echo compound verbs.

The case is not different in the north Dravidian languages also as we see in chapter Six. The three languages discussed as North Dravidian are *Kurux*, Malto and Brahui and all are said to pocesses the SVFs. The SVFs in north Dravidian strongly resembles the SVFs in other three sub groups: south, south central and central Dravidian. In the north Dravidian group, one may see an auxiliary compound verb as in *Kurux* or a lexical compound verb as in Malto or a coordinate verb construction. Evidence adduced in the four chapters, proves beyond doubt that SVF is an integral part of common Dravidian syntax and this may accordingly be constructed to the protolanguage. Thus if a claim on SVF is put to any particular sub group of the Dravidian family, it must be revised in favour of a demonstration that they belong to a common Dravidian heritage.

The last chapter Seven., gives a final revision of the rules for the distribution of finite predicates. In this chapter the author explains why he has presented the annotated catalogue of SVF organized according to sub group for comparative purposes. The first reason is that a substantial body of evidence is required to fuel the grammatical arguments concerning the structural variation, and the history of the SVF. The second reason is a strong intention to combat the deep indifferent attitude that is responsible for the virtual silence surrounding the SVF in the Dravidian literature. He claims that if this book confirms the existence of SVF in the Dravidian languages (of course, it does!) it will have succeeded in its single most important goal.

We see some recurring patterns emerging from the catalogue on Dravidian languages and from the patterns emerge the rules. Majority of the SVFs prove to be compound verbs and the remaining consists of co-ordinate verb constructions. In chapter 3, it is predicted that no contrast should ever arise among personal endings of the individual verbs within a single SVF. Based on the observations made from the preceeding chapters, a revision of rules (44) is made as rule (103) (page 111). According to this revision, finiteness should be treated as a syntactic property. He hopes that studies on SVFs in Dravidian languages should be multiplied for a more profound understanding to this most important characteristic of the Dravidian family. The author thinks that, what he could present so far on SVF are, the schematic rules, general constraints and the broad out lines of the theory of SVF. This should be served as guidelines for comparative research as well as the study of SVF in individual languages. This will help in understanding the historical development of the SVF and to reconstruct the application of the rules to the proto- Dravidian era. Auxiliary lexical and co-ordinate SVFs appear in all four of the primary sub-groups. The SVF is therefore, an integral part of Dravidian syntax.

The daughter languages deviate much from the proto-Dravidian language for not maintaining that system of SVF by them. Malayalam, Tota and Kota are some of the languages which preclude the possibility of creating SVFs. He discusses a process of subsequent evolution in which the process of auxilliary contraction, auxilliary verb deletion, and affix truncation, help to bring the same kind of historical compromise at the level of individual auxiliary SVFs.

He emphasizes the need for a rigorous and systematic study on the formation of serial verbs in general and in individual languages. He hopes that the study on the interaction of morphology and syntax will cast new light on

our knowledge about the SVF in particular and comparative Dravidian grammar in general. He does not believe that this book is a final word on SVF in Dravidian languages. This is only a starting point and the exploration must continue in this field. He has high hopes that any further study on SVF in Dravidian languages would be highly rewarding in the respect that it would stimulate research in the history of language, language typology and the principles governing the interaction of morphology and syntax.

Each chapter is supplied with clear explanations of notes given at the end of the book. Bibliography is good and index is helpful.

This book has a total of 135 pages. Though it is not very lengthy, it provides enormous informations about the processes and the principles of SVFs in Dravidian languages. In fact, those published materials on Dravidian sub-groups have helped him a lot in this matter. 'Proving the existence of SVFs in Dravidian language' was the sole aim behind this earnest work and the author can be proud of the matter that he has attained his goal. The book is a worthy contribution to the comparative Dravidian studies.

His argument that Malayalam precludes the SVFs, is a matter which needs a second thought. This argument is true according to his definition of serial verbs. But loss of subject verb agreement which prohibits the possibility of creating SVFs in Malayalam, is the only supporting evidence for such a statement. On the other hand, Malayalam possess auxilliary compound verbs and lexical compound verbs like many other sub groups of the Dravidian family. I would suggest that more research is needed at least in this particular area before a conclusive statement on the SVFs in Malayalam can be made.

The book in hard cover and blue jacket and with absolutely no typological error is very attractive. A comparative Dravidologist would certainly enjoy reading this book.

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I.S.D.L.

SUKUMAR SEN (1900-1992)

Sukumar Sen, the last major Indian Linguist to work within the historical comparative mould, has passed away in the ripe old age of 92 on 3rd March this year. Active and alert till almost he breathed his last, he was left with us a legacy of wide ranging scholarship seldom surpassed, or even touched, by the fragmented concerns of our present-day specialists. A Linguist he certainly was, and he was in fact, the greatest disciple of his teacher Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1889-1977); but language, or Indo-Aryan Linguistics in which area Sen's contribution earned him veneration from scholars of India and abroad, was just one half of his academic and scholarly interests. The other half was literary and cultural history, particularly that of his own land, Bengal. His four volume (now five), *Bengala Sahityer Itihas* i.e., history of Bengali literature can match the achievement of his guru and mentor Dr. Chatterji attained by him with the publication of his *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (1926). Sen did for Bengali literature what Dr. Chatterji did for the language, and here the Sisya was able to pay his fittest homage to his Guru.

Sen's ancestral village is Gotan in Burdwan, although he was born in Calcutta on 15-1-1900. Son of Harendranath Sen and Nabanalini Devi, he showed early brilliance as a student with an avid interest in books and a wonderful, almost photographic memory. Mathematics was his favourite subject the study of which he wanted to pursue but circumstances compelled him to shift to Sanskrit in his undergraduate Honours class. He did his B.A., having obtained the second position in First class in Honours (1921) and then studied comparative philology as his postgraduate subject, which brought him the top place in First class in 1923. Never a man to rest on his honours, Sen submitted a dissertation on *Syntax of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan Languages* which secured for him the Premchand Raichand Scholarship in 1924. He received his Ph.D in 1936, for his thesis on Historical Syntax of Middle and New Indo-Aryan Languages.

Scholarly awards and distinctions began coming to him steadily and naturally. He won Griffith Memorial Medal three times, Asutosh Mukherji Gold Medal twice, Sarojini Medal, the University Gold Medal - all from his *alma mater*, the University of Calcutta. Asiatic Society of Calcutta awarded him Sir Jadunath Sircar Medal, and on top of all this, the Royal Asiatic Society of London respectfully acknowledged his contribution to Indological Studies by awarding him their Gold Medal in 1984: Sen was also honoured by the Rabindra Memorial and Vidyasagar Prizes by the government of

West Bengal. Four *honoris causa*, D.Litt's came his way from the Universities of Burdwan, Viswabharati, Jadavpur and Rabindra Bharati, and he was twice elected President of the Linguistic Society of India and once of Asiatic Society, Calcutta and Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, Calcutta.

His career as a teacher was long and distinguished although a bit uneventful, as he served the same Department for about thirtyfour years, an usual record by present day standards. He joined the Department where he studied his M.A. as an honorary lecturer, being then associated with it as its Khaira Scholar, to be absorbed next year as a full time lecturer. Promotions came deservedly, but not as speedily as he did merit them or as the new U.G.C. Schemes enable us to have irrespective of merit. He had already been a professor when he assumed the Chairmanship of his Department in 1954 and this position he held till he retired ten years later. A teacher of the old school always hardworking himself and expecting equally honest work from his students, he also became the Guru of generations of the latter. Research works done under his supervision were numerous and as well as excellent, and many of his researchers have now achieved fame both as teachers and scholars in India and abroad. Quite a few of them were foreigners, including Edward C Dimock, Jr., Peter Gaeffke, T.O' Connel, T.Nara, Y.Nara etc.

Sen's early interest was historical syntax, and this was at a time when syntax was not that very popular with historical comparativists. Sen's first work along these lines was *Use of Cases in Vedic Prose* (1928), *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*. We can easily notice that, from old Persian to Indian Bengali, Sen also covers well over three thousand five hundred years of 'Aryan' linguistic evolution, a range that marks him off from other scholars of linguistics. So his *Old Persian Inscriptions* (1941) *Bhashar Itibritta* (1939- a history of Bengali language), *An Outline Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan* (1953), *A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* (1960), *History and Pre-history of Sanskrit* (1958) fit in, like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, in this long historical retrospection. His *Women's Dialect* in Bengali (first published as an article in 1923), however, adopts an early descriptive model outlined by Otto Jespersen in his *Language* (1922). But *Bangla Sthan Nam* (1981- 'Place-Names in Bengali') and *Etymological Dictionary of Bengali* (1971, in two volumes) both deal with etymology, one of Sen's fondest concerns after comparative syntax. The *Dictionary* is his last major work, and easily a model for others to follow.

Sen's works in Bengali are no less impressive than his English ones. We have already mentioned his history of Bengali literature in four volumes. He also wrote a one-volume history of the same literature in English for Sahitya Akademi. What he had to leave out in a regular chronicle of literature, he discussed in separate books, which could be

called satellite studies which complete, and often extend, his studies in history. Such books are *Sketch Shubhodaya* (1927), *Bangala Sahitya Gadya* (prose in Bengali, 1934), *Prachin Bangala O Bengali* (old Bengal and Bengali, 1943), *Islami Bangla Sahitya* (Muslim Bengali Literature, 1951) etc. Tagore was one significant influence in his life, as he was never tired of acknowledging and he published quite a few books on Tagore's life and work, delving deep into his mind and style.

A complete list of the books he wrote and edited both in Bengali and English is almost an impossibility. If one has the time and energy to go through even a part of them, one is stunned by the vastness of mind, the extreme attention to the tiniest of details at the same time, and sheer honesty of labour made highly dignified by an insightful penetration. He was always objective as a scholar, seldom, biased and never made a hasty and unfounded conclusion. And he was the first to acknowledge his mistake, to change, correct and to improve himself. People close to him tell us that this was a man who never wasted a moment in his life. This makes him a dull all-work no-play brand of Scholar which he was not. He was an avid reader of ghost stories and crime thrillers, and wrote some crime detection stories himself in Bengali, as he wrote a history of crime fiction, also in Bengali- an excellent historic analytical survey by any standards. He was also a lover of Bengali songs, particularly those of Tagore.

Such a Scholar and man is not to be found every now and then. So, although he had a longer life than most men, his departure creates a deeply felt void in the scholarly environment of India and elsewhere.

PABITRA SARKAR

See also the obituary note on Sukumar Sen in the D.L.A. News March 1992 for some more information: Ed.

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